grant of Leave of Absence w.e.f. 13th March, 2002, till the end of the current Session of the Rajya Sabha.

Does he have the permission of the House for remaining absent from the sittings of the House from 13th March. 2002, till the end of the current Session.

(No hon. Member dissented.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS (Contd.)

SHRI B.J. PANDA (Orissa): Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to second this Motion of Thanks for the Address that the President made to both Houses of Parliament.

Sir, during this session, this august House has already witnessed an unusually acrimonious level of discussion and finger pointing. I would like to take this opportunity to point our collective finger in a different direction. The President spelt out a tough new stand against terrorists operating in this country and, more importantly, the sponsors of those terrorists, our western neighbour, Pakistan. This was an important message, not because it has not been made before, not because it has not been discussed before, but because, for the first time, this message was being conveyed from the highest Constitutional authority of the land. That sends out a different signal from what is being debated in the media and from what«is being discussed in the political quarters. It sends out a message that, at all levels, the country is now prepared to face the serious threat; and the message fmaHy is that "enough is enough". This message seems to have already had some impact, because the immediate major reaction that we have seen from across the border is the same old, tired, accusations against our country. For the 55 years that both the countries have been independent, the world has been presented with a distorted picture. The world has been presented with a picture, as if India is the aggressor, as if Pakistan is one of the injured parties. The picture that has been presented is as if, in Biblical terms, David versus Goliath. I must say, we ourselves are partly responsible for this, because we have not always done as good a job as could have been done in propounding our.point of view to the world community. I must clarify xhat I am not pointing a finger of blame at any one, certainly not at any past Governments, because there were very good reasons for us to do what we did. Despite rejecting the Two-Nation Theory, we, as a country, have

accepted the fact of partition and we have moved on. We have moved on to nation building; we have moved on to establishing and securing democracy in the country; we have moved on to economic development; we have moved on to developing industries of world-scale competence, particularly, in areas such as IT, in the last ten years. On the other hand, Pakistan has either totally failed or, in any case, has been left substantially behind in all these areas. In recent times, we have taken the issue of projecting our point of view to the world community seriously, and over the last couple of years we have made a major dent in the world opinion about the true causes of trouble in this region and in South Asia. Part of this has been due to our focused foreign policy initiatives; and part of the credit must also go to our economic development that has happened over the past few years, which has seen us racing ahead of our neighbours in South Asia. Pakistan's long-continuing strategy of fomenting trouble or inciting wars is easily justifiable. They have had a military presence in their system of governance, on and off, for a major part of their life, as an independent nation. The only way to justify the military presence is to have the national security concerns, though those security concerns are required to be fomented by themselves. ^ It really ought not to be our job to debate Pakistan's internal system of governance. But that tolerance or reticence of not indulging in debating what they do has to end, when their policies start crossing our borders, when their agencies start inciting terrorism within our borders This media picture that they have been working on for so many decades has now started to be exposed and we must not relent in continuing to expose where the real danger lies not only to our national security but to the world at large because we are now talking of nuclear powers engaging in cross-border terrorism. This has hot always been the case in the last 55 years. We have seen a decade-and-a-half in the 70s and 80s when relative peace prevailed, when economic development could take place in the troubled areas of Kashmir because of the tourist potential being taken advantage of. But, again, in the last decade or so, the tactics of Pakistan has once again changed to focusing on an undeclared war. Once they realised that they could not win a conventional war, once they realised' that they simply could not hope to take on India, whether in terms of economic or in terms of military might, this new strategy which they have developed over the last 10 years or so has now reached a level where it cannot be taken lightly any more. Today, if anybody has a doubt that the ISI plays the single most important role in sponsoring terrorist activities in our country, is deluding himself. Our recent initiatives over the past couple of years have had to be restructured in the face of changing allegiances in the world as a result of major terrorist strikes from September 11 onwards in

Western countries and then, of course, in our country itself. This is all the more reason that we must put forward a united stand on this policy of not engaging in talks at the point of a gun. We must have a united stand that we will not take this any more. The united message that must continue to keep going out is that "enough is enough'. When terrorism crosses our borders and reaches the J&K Assembly, when terrorism touches us right here at the heart of democracy at the Parliament House, in India, the Lakshman Rekha has been crossed and that cannot be allowed and that cannot be tolerated. Immediately, after December 13th, if we look back at all the predictions and all the analysis, something seems to have got lost in our debate. We all agreed then and there that enough was enough. There was also a prediction that once that Lakshman Rekha was crossed, once we were prepared to stand up to the threat of terrorism, new tactics would evolve. What would those new tactics be? This is not a secret. It was debated in the media. It was predicted in television discussions. The new tactics, it was well understood and it was predicted repeatedly, would not involve so many terrorist acts any more, but attempts to foment communal trouble in our country. We should have expected that. We should continue to expect that and this is where our counter efforts must focus on.

The President, in spelling out this tough stand against terrorism and their sponsors, warned us against any threat to democracy, any possible subversion of democracy. Subsequent events since his Address have given us all great concern for what has happened. The cruel events at Godhra where innocent men, women and children were butchered and the subsequent and equally heinous crime against innocent men, women and children in Ahmedabad and in other parts of Gujarat cannot simply be condemned in strong enough words. And the reason that I portray in the light of a real threat to democracy is because the true measure of democracy does not lie in its ability to implement the popular will alone. Of course, implementing the popular will is a major objective of democracy. But the true measure of democracy lies, apart from its ability to implement the popular will, in providing minimum protection to the Fundamental Rights of life and property to each and every citizen. This is an area where we ought to be concerned. The constituents of the NDA Government are committed to the National Agenda for Governance. We are committed to the entire Agenda of the NDA, and not to the Agenda of any particular party in the NDA. This must be clearly understood by everybody in this country. We do have assurances from the highest level in the Government that the NDA Agenda is the guideline for governance in this country, and that it is going to be abided by, in letter and spirit.

Sir, more than facts and figures, the healing process of the heinous events of the last few weeks requires that perceptions also must change. Like Ceasar's wife, the Government must not only do the right thing, but it must also be seen to be doing the right thing.

With that, Sir, I would like to move on to that part of the President's Address which, I think, is most important to the new generation of Indian citizens; that is, development and economic growth. Sir, I refer to the new generation.of Indians because it is time that we call 'a spade a spade'. Half-a-century has gone by and we have allowed our country to lag behind others. The slow and steady rate of growth that we have achieved over this last hall a uentuiy is not to be scoffed at; at the same time, a pejorative phrase has been coined to describe our rate of growth, which prevailed for the lust two thiee decades in oui country, as an independent nation, as the Hindu rate of growth. This so-called Hindu rate of growth, alongwith our burgeoning population, has led to a situation where India.today is home to a large number of poor people in the world. This-has to change, and this has to change in our life time. The new generation of Indians do not have the patience to wait for another 55 years for poverty to be eradicated in this countiy. *Ganbi hatao* must happen and happen now. For decades, we refused to compare ourselves with other countries' achievements in regard to growth rates. We found reasons not to compare ourselves with the South-East Asian tiger economies saying they were small. We kept on saying that India is different. We did not want to compare ourselves with the Singapores of the world, with the Hong Kongs of the world, with the Malaysias of the world. And, during this time, we have seen ourselves lose ground not only to these bunch of economies, but in comparative terms, to many, many nations across the world. We have seen our industries lose a pre-eminent position that they commanded it one poinf. If we go back 40 years, when we compare the steel industries as it used to exist in India, it used tu have a significant position, compared to other economies like that of the Chinese and the South-East Asian countries. But, if you see today, South Korea, for example, which hardly had a steel industry 40 years ago, is home not only to a very large steel industry, but it has the single largest steel company in the world. I would like to quote what Nani Palkhivala said a few years back. This is caustic but, I think, it is very true. The phrase he used was India had achieved a position as the world's leading expert in the .art and science of perpetuating poverty". I would amend that only slightly and say that we had been eradicating poverty, with a slow and steady rate of growth, but simply not fast enough to make a material difference to the people, in their lifetime.

For the last ten or fifteen years, we have found reasons not to compare ourselves with China. China has left us far behind in every measure of economic development; I would say, in most measures, if not in every measure. Perhaps, in software industry, we have done better than them. But, like we have found reasons not to compare ourselves with other countries on grounds that either they were small or they were different or they were homogenous; we have found a reason in regard to China, that China is not a democracy. Perhaps, it is a valid reason. But what it means is that we are imposing on ourselves, if I may say so, a democracy tax on development. Does that need to be so? Well, certainly, a democracy requires consensus-building and, perhaps, a system like the Chinese' doesn't. Certainly, we are committed to our democracy. But I would say that the onus lies on us to waive this heavy tax that we have put on ourselves. The tax is quite significant, if we look at the growth rates over the last eight years, from 1993 to 2000. Whereas India has achieved, during this period, a real growth rate of about 6.3%, China has achieved nearly 10% - 9.7% to be exact. That 3.5% tax on our GDP growth rate, representing lakhs of crores of rupees should have been flowing to eradicating poverty, which is simply not happening. The growth rate of 5.4% in the current year has brougftf.us back to the group of five fastest growing large economies. This is a measure of some comfort because, in recent times, starting from about 1997, with the Asian economic crisis, and then followed by the economic crisis in the Western countries, and the collapse of the dot com economy in the West, have all lead to a situation where the growth rates have either crashed or have stagnated. So, for us to have pulled back our growth rate to 5.7% is certainly creditable.

But the point I have been making is that, it is high time we talked of defining our national pride in building a different kind of monument, and that national pride is to redefine the so-called Hindu rate of growth. If the world today understands that we have overcome the Hindu rate of growth of 3% to 3.5% and-brought it to a level of 6% to 6.5%, our objective must be to redefine the world's understanding of the Hindu rate of growth at 8% to 10%.

These few percentage-points in the growth of the GDP are not just economic numbers. I am not an economist by training. But there are many economists of very eminent stature present in this House; they can explain better than me, that these few percentage-points mean a difference between success and failure of eradicating poverty in this generation; not fifty years from now. This difference of a few percentage points iri GDP growth rate means, lifting vast numbers, tens of millions of our citizens, above the

poverty line within this decade. That is what we ought to be committed to. Sir, I will not take more time of the House. I would just like to say that very important legislations are on the anvil in many different spheres. For example, the Electricity Bill. Even after 11 years of liberalisation, we are still handicapped by certain fundamental problems. We are talking of moving to the second generation reforms. In fact, Sir, some aspects of the second generation reforms have already started. But some fundamental aspects of the first generation reforms are still left untouched. We simply cannot afford an electricity system in the country where 50 per cent of the electricity is not being paid for.

There are other very important Bills which are going to come up. Most of them have been covered by the President's Address. There are some important Bills which we need to touch upon. I think, one of the most important bits of legislation that we need to consider and consider soon - is the Competition Bill. Sir, this is particularly important because we are entering an era when our reliance on the market system is going to provide economic growth, is going to provide jobs. The era of Government and Government entities providing jobs in large numbers is over. Now, as we get more and more into a market era, as we get more and more into private sector companies playing a role in all sectors of the economy, we face the real danger Monopolies established in the private sector are far more detrimental to the national interest than monopolies established in the public sector. There is no place for a monopoly in a privatised economy. Therefore, it is all the more reason that one of our top-most priorities must be, on establishing a good, modern and practical Competition Law.

Sir, I would like to conclude by once again appealing to every Member in this House that the time has come for us to pull together. The time for fractiousness has to be put behind us, if we are to achieve the growth rates that we have seen not only in small countries, but also in large countries of Asia. We have seen other large fractious, heterogeneous democracies, achieving the same. Look at the kind of threat that America faced on September, 11. I think, it is an object lesson, not just for us, but for all countries, in one single area, that is the manner in which the country pulled together and put up a united voice against terrorism. It is high time, Sir, we do the same. With these words, I second the Motion. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are amendments moved by a few Members. Shri Ram Jethmalani, Amendment Nos. 1 to 31, not here. Shri Kapil Sibal, Amendment Nos. 32 to 58, not here.

DR. DASARI NARAYANA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I move:-

59. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not categorically denounce the fanning of communal passions in the Country by the fundamentalist organisations like VHP, Bajrang Dal etc. by taking up the disputed Ayodhya issue and declaring that Ram Temple will be constructed at the disputed site from 15th March, 2002 and Government's tacit support to these fundamentalist organisations."

60. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's determination to ban the fundamentalist organisations like V.H.P., Bajrang Dal etc. which are spreading communal tension in the Country."

61. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent over the defiling of the sanctity and genuineness of the Venkataswamy Commission of Inquiry probing the Tehalka revealations by appointing Union Minister of Defence who was under the probe of the Commission."

62. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not denounce the. worst case of Corruption revealed by none other than the CAG of India in purchasing the Coffins for the martyrs of Kargil War by the Ministry of Defence and Governments intention to sack the concerned Union Minister responsible for this on moral grounds."

63. That at theend'of the Motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not condemn the destruction of large quantities of arms and ammunition in Ordnance Depots and during transit by fire and Government's determination to reveal the actual causes of such fires and punish the guilty severely so as to deter others."

64. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the rampant corruption in Passport Offices in the Country which has now spread to Embassies, Missions, and-Consulates abroad and Government's determination to end this menace with a heavy hand."

65. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the plight and miseries of the farmers and civilian population living in the villages near the Indo-Pak borders who were forced to leave by abandoning their houses due to escalation of tension on the borders resulting in dying' of their crops and livestock and also losing some human lives due to land mines laid by Army in the fields and Government's determination to rehabilitate them and suitably compensate them."

66. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about Government's determination to revive the ailing vizag Steel Plant of the Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Ltd, located in the State of Andhra Pradesh on priority on the lines of SAI-within a time frame."

67. That at the *end of* the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the adverse impact of natural calamities on Andhra Pradesh which is frequently affected by severe cyclones, floods and droughts and Government's determination to provide the State with adequate Central assistance to provide desired relief to the affected people and to undertake developmental activities in the Coastal areas of the State."

68. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the prevailing hunger and acute poverty in the rural and Tribal areas of the Country notably in Orissa etc. Where Tribal people have been forced to subsist on grass and Mango Kernels and who have to even sell their children to avoid hunger and Government's determination to eliminate vigorously the hunger and poverty of such areas of the Country."

69. That at the *end of the.* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the State Road Transport Corporations which provide cheap transport facility to the general public in the States and most of them are running in losses and becoming bankrupt which may bring the bus transport to an abrupt halt one day and Government's determination to revive the State Roadways Corporations in a big way."

70. That at the *end. of the,* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's determination and commitment to fill up its more than three lakh vacant posts within a time frame to tackle unemployment problem in the country."

71. That at the *end of* the Motion, the following be *added namely:*-

"but regret that the Address is silent about faulty process being adopted in evaluating the assets of the Central PSUs proposed to be disinvested and Government's readiness to rectify the same."

72. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the non filling of the backlog in appointments and promotions meant for SC/ST and OBCs in various States particularly in Andhra Pradesh and Government's determination to direct the States to clear such backlog within a time frame."

73. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's intention to raise the maximum age bar for entry in to Government's services to thirty five years with immediate effect."

74. That at the end *of* the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address .does not mention about the virtual elimination of SSI sector in the Country due to opening of Imports and dumping of foreign goods in the Country and Government's determination to initiate remedial measures to save the SSI sector of the Country."

75. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's will to prepare a national plan for the overall development and settlement in life for the girl child born of parents living below the poverty line within a time frame."

76. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the prevalence of dreaded-Japanese brain fever Encephilitis in Andhra Pradesh which takes heavy toll particularly of children in the State and Government's determinations to control the disease effectively."

77. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the fact that National Malaria Eradication Programme has completely failed in Andhra Pradesh resulting in steep rise in Malaria cases largely in the rural and Tribal areas of the State and Government's determination to eradicate Malaria effectively from the State."

78. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not categorically denounce the efforts of NCERT and other Government Organisations to saffronise the history and other educational curriculum of the Country."

79. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that substantial number of villages in Andhra Pradesh are without postal and telephone services and Government's commitment to provide these services in such villages of the State within a time frame."

80. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Governments intention to establish a permanent bench of the Supreme Court of Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh without further loss of time."

81 That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that even after more than five decades of independence and widespread application of information technology in various areas of administration the lot of farmers in the Country notably in Andhra Pradesh have gone from bad to worse resulting in deep resentment and frustration amongst them leading to suicides in many cases and Governments resolve to allocate substantial portion of GDP for the growth of farming sector and welfare of farmers."

82. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not reveal Government's determination to give special impetus for rapid industrialisation of Andhra Pradesh."

83. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address lacks Government's determination to make right to work a fundamental right by suitably amending the Constitution of India."

84. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address is silent over the plight ofhandloom weavers in the Country particularly in Andhra Pradesh who are living in abject poverty almost hand to mouth and are exploited by money lenders, traders and even by Governmental agencies and Governments will to improve their lot within a time frame."

85. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address is silent over the plight and abiect poverty of the cotton growers of Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the Country who are vulnerable to exploitation of money lenders and others leading to even suicides in many cases and Government's determination to initiate welfare measures for them on priority."

86. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent over the death of hundred of farmers and agricultural workers in Warangal and other parts of Andhra Pradesh due to the use of poisonous and lethal pesticides supplied to them without any warning and training about handling and Government's will to ban such pesticides and suitably compensate the dependents of those who lost their lives due to poisonous pesticides."

87. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"'but regret that the Address does not show any concern over the pest menace destroying crops of farmers particularly of cotton and coconut etc. in Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the Country and Governments determination to take effective remedial measures involving Agriculture Universities, Research Institutes etc. in the process,"

88. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent over the sale of adulterated and fake fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides in the Country particularly in Andhra Pradesh resulting in heavy losses to the fanners and setback to the agriculture and Government's determination to deal effectively with the menace."

89. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that Andhra Pradesh has the potential and climate to develop Orchards of Various fruits in a big way which could attract various food processing industries in the State and Governments intention to announce concessions and facilities for [A]-ie Orchards and Food Processing Sector in the State."

90. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that Charminar is the pride and monument of tourist attraction of Hyderabad, the Capital City of Andhra Pradesh but due to some deliberate mishaps this marvelous monument has been closed for the tourists resulting in severe setback to tourism in Hyderabad and Government's will to reopen Charminar for the domestic and foreign tourists with adequate security measures so as to boost tourism in Hyderabad."

91. That at the era/ of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regreat that the Address has failed to announce a comprehensive Youth Policy for the overall development of the youth all over the Country."

92. That at tfe end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent over Government's determination to formulate a Special Insurance Scheme for the people living in Coastal Andhra Pradesh who lose their lives, properties, livestock and Crops due to devastating cyclones very frequently so that they are suitably compensated after such devastations."

93. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that Andhra Pradesh has the potential of growing Chillies, Cashewnuts, Coconuts and Coffee in a big way which can earn precious foreign exchange by exporting these Commodities and Governments will to formulate an action plan with adequate financial backing to boost the production of these items in the State."

94. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the old and very old school buildings in Andhra Pradesh, many of which have become unsafe and Government's determination to provide adequate Central funds to Andhra Pradesh for providing safe pucca school buildings in the State "

95. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that the health care facilities in the rural and Tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh are in doldrums particularly for the gynaecological disorders of Women and girls and Government's resolve to pay special attention to provide adequate health care facilities in rural and Tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh."

96. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that a substantial population of Andhra Pradesh consists of Tribals and most of them are still backward, illeterate, superstitious and are exploited by moneylenders, forest department personnel and others and Governments resolve to formulate a comprehensive plan for proper development of tribals in the State."

97. That at the *end* of the Motion,-the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the fact that the Adult Literacy Programmes have not made much headway in Andhra Pradesh particularly in its rural and tribal areas and Government's determination to formulate a special action plan to spread literacy amongst the illiterate adult population of the State."

98. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the fact that Tirupati Devasthanam in Andhra Pradesh is one of the most famous pilgrimage centre of the Country which is visited by crores of devotees from all parts of the Country every year but the rail and Air services to Tirupati are quite inadequate causing avoidable hardships to the devotees and Government's determination to provide adequate rail and air services to Tirupati from all corners of the Country.

99. That at the *end* of the Motion, .the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's determination to set up more FC! godowns in Andhra Pradesh for the benefit of the farmers of the State."

100. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address has ignored the fact that crores of people are living in Jhuggi Clusters in the Slums of the Country particularly in Urban areas, in worst inhuman conditions without the basic Civic amenities and Government's resolve to prepare and implement a National Slum policy to improve the conditions of the slums so as to improve the living conditions of their dwellers."

101. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address has completely ignored the very poor state of affairs of the Khadi and Village Industries Sector of the nation and Government's lesolve to revive this sector on priority as it provides employment to millions of people in rural areas of the Country."

102. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not announce that right to housing will be made a fundamental right by suitably amending the Constitution of India."

103. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is S'lent about the increasing atrocities on women and girls in various parts of the Country notably in Andhra Pradesh and more so on the women and girls belonging to SC, ST and other Weaker Sections of the Society and Government's determination to prevent such atrocities with a heavy hand and provide deterrent punishment for such atrocities by suitably amending the Criminal Law of the land."

104. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not assure Andhra Pradesh that Government will release adequate financial assistance to the State for setting up adequate Cold Storages in the State for the benefit of farming community."

105. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address is silent about the shortage of power in Andhra Pradesh and the abnormal increase in the power tariff of the State which has affected the household budget of the common man of the State and Government's determination to take remedial measures in this regard on priority."

106. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's determination for the overall development of film industry in the Country."

107. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address is silent about the rampant Video and Audio piracy of films and their songs which is proving to be too costly for the very survival of film industry in the Country and Government's determination to curb this menace vigorously by creating Special Cells of local Police to deal with this menace which is also siphoning off the revenue of the States which they could earn through Entertainment Tax."

108. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the closing down of substantial number of Cinema halls in the Country which are essential for the development of film industry and Government's intention to take corrective measures in this regard."

109. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the address does not reflect Government's determination to establish a welfare fund for the Cine Artists and personalities who may direly need assistance from the Fund for subsistence or treatment in their old age and illness."

SHRI RAMASHANKER KAUSHIK: Sir, I move.-

110. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any measure to increase the income of 70 percent citizens of the country engaged in farming."

111. Thai at *the end of the* Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not refer to any measure for providing remunerative prices to farmers for their produce."

112. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any programme for removing unemployment."

113. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address has no mention about stopping of on going retrenchment of industrial workers. "

114. That at *the end of the* Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any programme to save the small scale industries from being closed down due to Government policy of globalisation and liberalization."

115. That at the *end of the* Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to eliminate growing corruption in the country."

116. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any clear cut and time bound programme to crush external terrorism in the country."

117. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address has no mention about the need to root out growing internal terrorism in the country which is causing abetment to Mandir Masjid controversy and damage to historical buildings."

118. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to provide cheap and easily available education to all."

119. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any programme for providing uniform education to children aged 6 to 14 years."

120. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any steps for the promotion of handloom and cottage industries."

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

121. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern about the decision to decontrol of prices of sugar and other items."

122. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern over the large scale import of hazardous industrial waste from the developed countries leading to serious environmental degradation in the country."

123. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the country's falling into debt trap."

124. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the dangerous increase in per capita (foreign and internal) debt."

125. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the dangerous move of the Government to sell out public assets for a song."

126. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the Government's abandoning long established foreign policy of the country."

127. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the on going exploitation of workers and employees particularly the workers in unorganised sector."

128. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern about the Government's decision ts retrench section of the employees in

Government and public sector undertakings in the name of voluntary retirement scheme and thereby aggravating the existing unemployment situation in the country."

129 That at *Xheend* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the attempts of the Defence Minister to denigrate the CAG about its findings related to purchase of the aluminium caskets for the Kargil martyrs. "

130 That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about HRD minister's move to saffronise the education system in the country. "

131 That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely -

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern over the Government's move in grinding 'tehelka' for its unprecedented visual exposure of existence of corruption in Defence. "

132 That at the endofthe motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern over the decision to give permission to FBI to open their offices allowing to conduct their nefarious activities in India in the name of containing terrorism thus surrendering the sovereignty of our country. "

133 That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the failure of the Government to provide proper rehabilitation facilities to the oustees from sites of dams in the country. "

134 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the reported cases of suicides by the farmers due to fall of the prices of agricultural produces. "

135 That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the-reported cases of starvation deaths in various parts of the country. "

136 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the mushroom growth of various engineering and technological colleges not maintaining the higher standard of studies thereby spoiling the future of engineering and technological students. "

137 That at *the end* of the motion, the following be added, namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the failure of the Government to stop the capitation fees in private run educational institutions. "

138 That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the failure of the Government to prevent fundamentalist organisations openly defying the laws of the land especially in the case ofAyodhya issue. "

139. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the Government's failure to take necessary steps to protect wild life which is under serious threat by indiscriminate poaching. "

140. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over sharp declination of forest cover in the country."

141. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the Government's attempt to privatise the Indian Railways. "

142. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern over the Government's move to allow private participation in the field of defence production."

143. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern about the depletion of area of agricultural land in the country."

144. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the Government's failure to contain the insurgency in the North-Eastern region. "

145. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the Government's failure to contain corruption in the judiciary. "

146. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the Government's failure to contain corruption in the bureaucracy."

147. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the privatisation and commercialisation of education and Government's move to class based education system and widening the social divide by turning towards a more elitist system."

148. That at *Vneend* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the increasing number of contract appointments being made in universities across the country."

149. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express serious concern over the attempt to erase Medieval India from the school history text books."

150. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern over the growing unemployment in the country."

151. That at *the end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate a comprehensive plan to solve the problem of unemployment and to give 'unemployment allowance' to all unemployed youth registered with Employment Exchanges in the country till they gain employment.'"

152. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the growing poverty in the country and the Government's failure to evolve a time bound action plan to eradicate it."

153. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to appoint a special commission/committee to suggest reforms in judicial process to enable expeditious disposal of both criminal and civil matter."

154. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the serious situation arising out of the Government's failure to streamline the public distribution system in the country."

155. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the serious situation arising out of the indifferent attitude adopted by the Government towards the small scale industries by not providing sufficient incentives to them in the face of competition from multinational companies."

156. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to evolve a continuous mechanism and procedure to resolve long pending inter-state river water disputes in the country."

157. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the 'right to shelter' to be included in the Constitution as a fundamental right."

158. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the 'right to work* to be included in the Constitution as a fundamental right".

159. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to ensure the strict implementation of the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961."

160. That at t*heend* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure in evolving a new national wage policy."

161. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to evolve a time bound action plan to eradicate the growing poverty in the country."

162. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the uneven growth of industry in the country, resulting a large-scale migration from villages to cities."

163. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the Government's failure to take effective measures to check the slow industrial growth and decline in industrial output."

164. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the continuous import of the crude oil at high cost and the Government's failure to augment the domestic production so as to attain self-sufficiency."

165. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the growth of communal and obscurantist forces in the country and the Government's failure to take appropriate measures to curb such activities."

166. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to constitute a high level committee of experts to survey and study India's coastline for the protection of ecology and environment."

167. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate an action plan at national level to tackle the serious problem of rapidly declining under ground water level and lack of availability of water in the country."

'168. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to set up at least one small scale industry in every village in order to prevent the migration of the people to the urban areas in search of jobs."

169. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to take steps to make khadi and village industries more result oriented and productive."

170. That at *the end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate a comprehensive programme to completely eliminate illiteracy and to introduce free and compulsory primary education for every child through the medium of his/her mother tongue."

171. That at *the end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate a new labour policy to provide employment opportunities round the year to all sections of labourers."

172. That at *the end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure in implementing the repots of the National Commission for Minorities."

173. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate a comprehensive plan to improve the poor conditions of national highways."

174. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate a comprehensive scheme to generate more employment opportunities in the rural areas."

175. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to initiate proper measures for the elimination of child labour in the country."

176. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the continuing incidents of atrocities on women and children and the failure of the Government to take appropriate steps to stop such incidents."

177. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the continuing incidents of atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the failure of the Government to take appropriate steps to stop such incidents."

178. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the growing incidents of attacks on the minority communities and the failure of the Government to stop such incidents."

179. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the growing incidents of attacks on the places of worship of the minority communities and the failure of the Government to stop such incidents."

180. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the continuous rise in the prices of the essential commodities and the failure of the Government to take necessary steps in order to bring down the prices."

181. That at *the end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to take effective measures to check the ever increasing pollution menace in the country.

182. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the failure of the Government for formulating a national policy for de-silting of inter-State rivers of the country to increase their water carrying capacity."

183 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but. regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to formulate a comprehensive scheme for the educational and economic development of SC/ST and other backward classes."

184 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the serious situation arising out of the continuous devaluation of the Indian currency and the failure of the Government to take necessary steps to check the same. "

185 That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure to evolve a comprehensive plan to promote cottage industries particularly agro based industries for the development of rural and backward areas. "

186 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but,regret that the Address fails to express deep concern about the Government's failure in implementing a time bound policy for the overall development of the villages in the country with special emphasis on drinking water, primary education with mid-day meal and free health care in all-the village panchayats in the country. "

187 That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention about the consistent attack against the secular character of our polity by the BJP led Government. "

188 That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the address that the Commission for reviewing the Constitution was constituted by passing Parliament and violating all democratic norms. "

189 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the address that the Govt is surrendering increasingly India's interest on all important issues under American pressure."

190 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the address about the lifting of quantitative restrictions on imports."

191 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the specific plan for providing employment to educated unemployed youth in the country."

192 That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's intension to protect the Constitutional rights of the Minorities."

193 That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the rise in prices of essential commodities which has hit the common people in the country."

194. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the-enactment of the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 1998."

195. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about banning the entry of private sector, indigenous or foreign, in the Insurance Sector."

196. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the eradication of illiteracy from the country."

197. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to control wide-spread land erosion which is taking place in Murshidabad, Nadia, Hooghly and Bardhaman districts of West Bengal." 4

198. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to control wide-spread sea erosion which is taking place in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and other parts of the country."

199. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about equality of rights, wages etc. for the women."

200. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about women health and child care."

201. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about land reforms."

202. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's desire to formulate a policy for the youth."

203. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the growing corruption in the administrative machinery at various levels and the effective measures to eradicate it."

204. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the formulation of a policy to remove regional imbalance and have uniform development of all the regions in the country."

205. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the revival of sick industrial units in the public sector and rehabilitation of the displaced workers."

206. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about providing remunerative prices to the farmers for the agricultural produce in consonance with the rising cost of the inputs."

207. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the failure of the Public Distribution System to provide essential commodities to the poorer sections in remote areas."

208. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about formulating a time-bound programme to provide employment opportunities in the rural areas to prevent exodus of educated youth to the urban areas seeking job opportunities."

209. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the steps to be taken to check unabated brain-drain of doctors, scientists, technicians and experts."

210. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the growing unemployment in the country and the need to provide unemployment allowance to the unemployed educated youths to mittgate their hardship."

211. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the closing down of 90 collieries of ECL, thus throwing out 1 lakh workers out of job."

212. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about reducing custom duties and increasing excise duties to benefit steel and other industries."

213. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the Bill for providing minimum wages to agricultural workers."

214. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the removal of lacuna in 73rd and 74th amendments to constitution which can bound the State Government to conduct election after every five years."

215. Tr.at at *the end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about any scheme for all round development of under developed districts in States."

216. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the repair of existing national highways and construction of new national highways in Eastern Zone."

217. That at *the end'ol* the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about taking necessary steps for implementing the programmes to safeguard the interests of the minorities in the country."

218. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about constructing more dwelling units for the economically weaker sections of society in the country."

219. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about introducing an Comprehensive Crop Insurance Scheme to save the poor farming community from natural calamities."

220. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about bringing forward a comprehensive Legislation to arrange pension for the most neglected rural labourers who are not in a position to eke out their livelihood nor their children are in a position to support their Parents."

221. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about taking effective measures to make primary education compulsory."

222. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about measures for providing facilities of cold storage marketing of farm produce particularly vegetables, fruits etc. in order to enable the farmer to get suitable remunerative price."

223. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the distribution of waste land to the local farmers to grow trees."

224. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about providing vocational courses to the rural unemployed youth and women to make them self-reliant."

225. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely.-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the measures to encourage constructions of Highways and Ports."

226. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about checking the cost of electricity for the use of consumers."

227. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but cegret that the Address shows no concern about bringing a legislation for protection, welfare and all round development of minorities."

228. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about a comprehensive plan to provide basic needs of food, clothing and shelter to the poor people in the county."

229. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the measures to check the growing menace of the poverty, unemployment, disparity and price rise in the country."

230. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the businessmen and the multinational companies minting money at the expense of common man."

231. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the deteriorating economic situation in the country leading to closure of public sector undertaking."

232. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about improvement in cattle breeding and also checking spread of diseases in them."

233. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the spurt of the diseases like Hepatitis-B, T.B. H.I.V. and kidney and heart ailments and various poverty related diseases in the country and providing timely medical facilities for them."

234. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the schemes for the development of primary education, secondary education and higher education."

235. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about making arrangements for augmenting the production of foodgrains, pulses, oil in proportion to the increasing population of the country."

236. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about meeting the shortage of cold storage for storing vegetables, potatoes, onions and other perishable food items in the country."

237. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the measures for checking price rise in potatoes, onions, oils, pulses and other essential commodities in the country."

238. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the measures of pulling the country out of the crisis of deficit financing, unearthing black money and preventing tax-evasion."

239. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about effective measures to check hoarding, black marketing, profiteering and adulteration etc."

240. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the scheme to save various States from the fury of floods and the loss incurred by the people and the State Government."

241. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about linking all the villages by roads."

242. That at the end of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the construction of pucca houses for the people belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Minorities and weaker sections in the country."

243. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the installation of hand-pumps for providing potable water for the poor people in States."

244. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about national loss due to recurrent of floods and droughts in the country and effective steps to be taken to control the menace."

245. That at *the end of* the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the measures to check rampant corruption in the country."

246. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the measures to check child labour and prostitution."

247. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the development schemes for farmers, labourers, youth and women."

248. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the increasing number of sick people and generat deterioration of the health of the people in the country."

249. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the miserable performance of India in international sports and game in spite of larger population than many other countries."

250. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the meagre investments jn the field of science and technology in public and private sector."

251. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern about the increasing hegemony of United States of America."

252. That at die *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but there is no mention to give unemployment allowance to the unemployed youth who are registered with Employment Exchanges until they get employment."

253. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but the Address shows no concern for expeditious disposal of criminal and civil cases pending before the courts."

254. That at. the end of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern for providing sufficient incentives to the small scale Industries in the face of stiff competition from the multinational companies."

255. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to the spread of the disastrous disease AIDS in the country."

256. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern over lack of transporting facilities in more than 50% rural areas of the country."

257. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern over the serious crisis of drinking water in rural areas in the country and to evolve a national policy on drinking water."

258. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern for evolving a time-bound action plan to eradicate the growing poverty in the country."

259. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to review the Private Power Sector Policy as it has failed to take off in a significant manner."

260. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern for providing the latest equipment in the Central and State Government hospitals for the treatment of evergrowing number of cancer, heart and kidney patients in the country."

261. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern in bringing in suitable reforms to the educational system so as to make it employment oriented as the present system is not relevant to the .needs of the present day society."

262. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern in bringing comprehensive changes in the industrial policy to check the large

scale migration from villages to cities which is the result of uneven industrial growth in the country."

263. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern over the non-implementation of various schemes for conversion of barren land into cultivable land through a time bound programme."

264. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern for taking adequate steps to eradicate communalism, casteism, linguistic chauvinism and regionalism from the country."

265. That at *the end* of the'motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to formulate a comprehensive action plan at national level for water conservation."

266. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern over setting up small scale industries in every village in order to stop large scale migration from villages to cities."

267. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to formulate a new labour poiicy with a view to provide round the year employment to the labourers working in organised and unorganised sectors."

268. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern for the speedy implementation of the report of the Commission for Linguistic Minorities."

269. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to formulate a comprehensive scheme to generate more employment opportunities in the rural areas."

270. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to appoint a Committee of Experts to suggest permanent measures to control the loss of lives, crops and property due to natural calamities."

271. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern for formulating a time bound programme to abolish bonded labour existing in certain parts of the country."

272. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern over the increasing malnutrition problem in the country."

273. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address shows no concern to formulate an action plan at national level for soil conservation in the country."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Santosh Bagrodia. not present.

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Sir, I move:-

321. That at *[he end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to curb the activities of the organisations directly or indirectly involved in inciting and organising attacks on minorities."

322. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about improving Public Distribution System to utilise surplus food-grains in FCI godowns which are getting damaged because of reduction in off take."

323. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the plight of farmers because of the hike in agricultural input prices and lack of adeouate protection to indigenous agricultural products."

324. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the concrete sector-wise blueprint to counter the adverse impact of lifting of quantitative restrictions from April, 2001."

325. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the sickness of industries and steps to arrest the industrial sickness."

326. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the socio-economic impact of the Government's decision to privatise or corporatise core sector industries like power, coal, oil, airports, ports, aluminium etc."

327. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the hardships caused to the common man due to lowering of interest rates of small saving schemes."

328. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the liquidation of Non Performing Assets of Banks and Financial institutions in a time-bound manner."

329. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the'recovery of tax arrears of more than Rs. 70 crore within the last three years."

330. That at the end of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to amend the Payment of Bonus Act removing the eligibility ceiling and enhancing the payment ceiling."

331. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the logic of sale of premier profit-making public sector undertakings like VSNL, IBP, IPCL, HPCL, BPCL, BSNL etc. to make up budgetary deficit."

332. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about revival of sick public sector units like IISCO, MAMC, BOGL, Tyre Corporation of India, Hindustan Cables. Durgapur and Haldia units of Hindustan Fertilizer Corporation, NJMC, Bengal Immunity, Smith Stainstreet etc."

333. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about guaranteeing minimum wages to agricultural labour."

334. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about payment of statutory dues to CPSU workers."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Balkavi Bairagi, not present.

SHRIMATI CHANDRA KALA PANDEY (West Bengal): Sir, I move:-

349. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to check the continuing atrocities on minorities, Dalits and other weaker sections of the society."

350. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide adequate funds for immediate elimination of child labour in hazardous industries."

351. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to improve the plight of farmers."

352. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not express its serious concern over the Government's move to commercialise education, making higher education costly and closing the door of education to the vast multitude of poor people."

353. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to take steps against communalisation of education and culture of the country and distortion of History"

354. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for making 'Right to Employment' a Fundamental Right in the Constitution "

355. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely :-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to take steps for empowerment of rural women."

356. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely :-

"but regret that the Address does not categorically state that the Constitution (85th Amendment Bill), 1999 seeking reservation of not less than one third of the seats for women in the Lok Sabha and in the Legislative Assemblies of States will be considered and passed in the current Budget session itself."

357. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely :-

"but regret that the Address does not take not of moves of the Government to gradually eliminate the public distribution system in the country"

SHRIMATI SARLA MAHESHWARI (West Bengal): Sir, I move:-

358. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that there can not be any role of third party in Indo-Pak negotiations about Jammu and Kashmir."

359. That at *the end of* the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that after Tehelka Tape exposure the evidences received of late, of bungling in procurement of military hardware including caskets deal in Kargil war show the clear picture of wide spread corruption in defence department and such exposure can adversely affect the morale of armed forces."

360. That at the *end* "bf the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention that despite unfortunate experiences of deterrent detention law like TADA, the extent Government are adamant to pass POTO which is an unbecoming edition of the same; and it will hardly assist in overcoming terrorism, but will definitely endanger democracy and fundamental rights of the citizens in the country as even the revised edition of POTO does not seem as a touchstone to the democratic rights of people."

361. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention that in the name of maintaining communal harmony and restricting anti-national activities of some fundamentalist organisations the stand to punish some people and acquite some others, is quite improper and the activities

of organizations of Sangh Pariwar such as VHP, Bajrang Dal, are against the national interest and also detrimental to communal harmony."

362. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

M but regret that the Address does not mention that some organizations of Sangh Pariwar have tried to create tension in Ayodhya by trespassing the disputed site at Ayodhya but no effective steps have been taken by the Government against these elements."

363. That at th*eend* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention that once more the organizations like VHP have been involved in the nation-wide communal campaign on the issue of Ayodhya and every Government which are committed to safeguard Indian Constitution, have their main responsibility to foil their such campaign."

364. That at *theend* of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the economic sovereignty of India has been endangered due to globalisation which has proved to be an instrument of imperialist dominance over the world, on account of which the evils like jobless development, curtailment of social security and decline in the income of hard working people are prevailing the whole of the world and the same can threaten to destabilize the developing countries to a great extent."

365. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Indian farmers have been put to untold miseries due to commercial conditions of WTO; the remunerative price of agricultural products are turning to be a dream for the farmers; as a result thereof, poverty is increasing in the agriculture sector, the life of farmers is not being improved despite record production of foodgrains."

366. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the fact that in the country even now, more than 26 crores of people are below

poverty line, the godowns abundant in grains, yet these people are not able to make ends meet, the existing Government has miserably failed in providing food to the poor at cheap rates through public distribution system, the foodgrains to the tune of- Rs.1 crore 28 lakhs had been distributed in the year 2000 whereas in the previous year upto November, 2001, foodgrains only to the tune of Rs.1 crore 13 lakhs had been distributed."

367. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention about the adverse impact of globalisation and the liberalised economic policy on the industrial growth in India, the Indian market is being dumped with foreign goods whereas thousands of plants/factories are being closed each year."

368. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the fact that privatisation of public properties has not proved beneficial to the economy of any of the country in the world, the call for privatisation is an integral part of the call for globalisation being made by imperialism, thereby the independent basis of national economy is weakened and the way for dominance of foreign capital in the economy is pored."

369. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention of the fact that recently, as a result of some decisions taken by Central Government, has givan fillip to the contract system in the fields such as oil and petro chemicals, Government have withdrawn its holding on the most profit making pioneer organisations of communication like VSNL and there is an apprehension that it will cause hindrance in providing the benefits of the communication revolution to the masses."

370. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the digital divide has become a bitter reality in the country, less than one per cent of the population is using internet, due to this reason, social inequality is on the rise."

371. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that small investors have" been deprived of their savings due to scams in share market

in the recent past, and Government have failed completely in checking these scamsters."

372. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the biggest mutual fund institution, UTI has incurred heavy losses due to scam in purchasing shares, and this scam has affected two crore small investors."

373. That at the *end of* the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the security of passengers of Indian Railways has gone worse and the number of small and big railway accidents are on the rise."

374. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the scheme of fast track projects made by the Central Government has failed completely, scams of Enron company have become public world wide and extra care has to be taken for monitoring all the activities of this company in India."

375. That at t*heend* of the motion, the following *be added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government are not making as much efforts to provide employment to the people as to deprive them of their jobs by implementing scheme such as VRS."

376. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Human resources Ministry of Government has been distorting courses of every standards from communal point of view, in place of capable persons, such persons are being appointed at higher places with political biases as are misusing these institutions for propagating communal politics of Hinduism."

377. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government is avoiding passing women reservation Bill for ensuring reservation of 33% seats for women in Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies."

378. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government is not sincere about empowerment of women."

SHRI NAGENDRA NATH OJHA (Bihar): Sir, I move-SOS.

That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the reckless disinvestment of profit making public sector undertakings at throw away prices."

393. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective measures to revive the loss making public sector undertakings."

394. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the Government's decision to amend the labour laws intending to curtail the hard earned rights of the working class."

395. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the impropriety of the continuance of the Defence Minister in the Union Cabinet even after the revelation of "Coffin Scam" by the Comptroller and Auditor General's (CAG) findings in the controversial import of aluminium caskets at highly inflated prices."

396. That at the *end* of the motion the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not express concern about the Government's move to dismantle the public distribution system to the detriment of the poor people in the country."

397. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"bui regret that the Address does not express concern about the growing unemployment in the country leading the frustrated young people to join various militant and insurgent organisations."

398. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express serious concern over the Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) being vigorously implemented by various Government departments including public

sector undertakings adding to the ever growing army of unemployed in the country."

399* That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the steep fall in prices of agricultural produce including cash crops like rubber, tea, coffee, cotton etc. resulting in severe losses and indebtedness to millions of farmers all over the country and Government intention to take immediate and necessary steps to relieve the farmers from their miserable plight light."

400. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the pathetic socio-economic status of women in the country-side and Government intention to take immediate steps for. formulating special schemes aimed at improving the socio-economic conditions of rural women particularly those engaged in agriculture sector."

401. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the closing down of 90 collieries of Eastern Coal Fields Ltd. rendering about one lakh workers jobless."

402. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the proposed closure of 60 NTC Mills rendering about a lakh workers jobless."

403. That at the *end* of *the* motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for enacting a central legislation providing for minimum wages and welfare for the agricultural workers through out the country."

404. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps to combat the growing atrocities against women and girl child in the country."

405. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps to abolish child labour in the country."

406. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective measures to abolish bonded labour."

407. That at the *end* of *the* motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the serious crisis in the availability of safe drinking water in rural areas in the country."

408. That at the *end of* the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for ensuring remunerative prices to ^the farmers for the agricultural produce in consonance with the rising cost of inputs."

409. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the recent drift in the established foreign policy of the Government in favour of United States."

410. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the inadequate medical facilities in the rural areas of the country and need to provide specialised medical facilities by setting up well equipped public hospitals in rural areas."

411. That at the *end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the unresolved long pending inter-state river disputes in the country and need to evolve an effective mechanism and procedure to resolve such disputes."

412. That at the end of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not taken note of the dwindling budget allocation for social security measures in the successive budgets."

413. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address 'does not mention about the need to attain economic self-reliance and to review the adverse impact of

the policy of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation on the Indian economy."

414. That at *the end* of the motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increased atrocities on women. Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes^and other Backward Class people in the country and need to take effective administrative and legislative measures to prevent such atrocities."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Smt. Saroj Dubey, not present.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I move:-

434. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the massive mobilization of the communal forces in the name of construction of Ram Temple which has disturbed the communal harmony in the country."

435. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention Government's reckless disposal of capital assets by disinvesting public sector undertakings to meet the ever-increasing consumption expenditure of the Union Government."

436. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not contain the failure of the Government to generate adequate number of employment."

437. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Union Government to prevent insurgency activities in different parts of the country."

438. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention inability of the Union Government to mobilize international public opinion in favour of Government's stand on Kashmir."

SHRI VIJAY SINGH YADAV (Bihar): Sir, I move:-

439. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps against terrorism and extremism."

440. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps for reducing production cost of agricultural products."

441. That at *theend* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure in preventing atrocities being committed continuously against the minorities, downtrodden and other weaker sections of the society."

442. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to make downtrodden and backward people economically self dependent."

443. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps to control population."

444. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the measures to augment the availability of electricity in the rural areas."

445. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely. -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take effective steps for making education system employment oriented."

446. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of a targeted time-bound scheme for abolishing increasing unemployment."

447. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the branches of banks to be set up for providing loans to the small scale industries in the rural areas."

448. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention that\^Aishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal, R.S.S. and the organizations connected therewith are spreading frenzy of fanaticism and tension all over the country and the Government is fully competent and prepared to tackle the same."

449. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the perfunctory disinvestments of profit making P.S.Us at very cheap rates."

450. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about closure of 90 Coal mines of the Eastern Coal Fields Ltd., as a result of which one lakh workers have been rendered unemployed."

451. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express concern about the serious crisis over the availability of safe drinking water in the rural areas of the country."

452. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not give any assurance regarding giving employment to unemployed youths and banning privatisation of departments and the sale of Public Section Undertakings."

453. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express serious concern over the Government's efforts of privatising Indian Railway."

454. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express its concern over the failure of the Government in putting check on corruption prevailing in the bureaucracy."

455. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express its serious concern over the cases of suicides by farmers due to decrease in prices of agro-products."

456. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not express concern over the Government's efforts of deleting the portion of medieaval India from the history syllabus of schools."

457. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the failure of Government in setting up at least one small scale industry in every village in order to check migration of people to urban areas in search of jobs."

458. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern regarding continuous increase in the prices of essential commodities and failure of Government in taking necessary steps to reduce the prices."

459. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to give any serious assurance to provide special economic package to Bihar after the division of the State of Bihar as it is undergoing serious economic crises after its division."

460. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to provide assurance for setting up of any new industry in the State of Bihar."

461. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express any concern regarding formulation of the policy to remove regional imbalance and develop all the parts of the country equally."

462 That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the problem of increasing pollution in the country."

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal) : Sir, I move:-

463. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern over the decision of the Cabinet to amend Industrial Dispute Act, 1947 allowing the employers to close down all such factories and

establishement, employing work force upto the level of 1000 and retrench all the workers en block unilaterally and also v amend Contract Labour Regulation and Abolition Act, which tantamount to an attempt to bring back labour slavery."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Aimaduddin Ahmed Khan (Durru), not present; Sardar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, not present; Shri Sukhdev Singh Libra, not present.

SHRI R. KAMARAJ (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move:-

489. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of the Sethusamudram Project."

490. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any alternative employment opportunities for those who are engaged in manufacturing of crackers."

491. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the linking of Ganga-Cauvery rivers."

492. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the speedy disposal of the Cauvery Water dispute."

493. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Central relief for the areas-recently affected by floods in Tamil Nadu."

494. That at *theend* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any Rural Development Schemes for the State of Tamil Nadu."

495. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the development of model villages in Tamil Nadu."

496. That at the *end of* the Motion, the following be *added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about development of wastelands in Tamil Nadu into cultivable land."

497. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the desitting of rivers in Tamil Nadu which are the source of water supply to vast agricultural areas."

498. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention any major scheme for providing drinking water to all villages of Tamil Nadu."

499. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any new project for new National Highways in Tamil Nadu."

500. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about new air links to major cities in Tamil Nadu-"

501. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the effective utilisation and exploitation of the Coal and Lignite reserves available in Tamil Nadu."

502. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about establishing new export processing zones in Tamil Nadu."

503. That at *the end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the development of waterways in Tamil Nadu."

504. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *be added,* namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not mention any new schemes for the development of urban areas and formation of model towns in Tamil Nadu."

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I oppose the Motion moved by Dr.. Mahesh Chandra Sharma and seconded by Shri Panda. When I oppose the Motion, it does not reflect any disrespect to the President of the Republic. All of us have deep respect for the President and

we also appreciate his Address which he gave to the joint sitting of the Members of both Houses of Parliament. It is equally true, in a parliamentary system, that the role of President in delivering this Address is just to lend his voice and not contents, because every word is drafted by the Cabinet and the President has to deliver that Address before the Members of Parliament. This is the Government's agenda. Therefore, we are expected to comment on this agenda.

Sir, the normal practice in this House has been that the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Manmohan Singh used to initiate the discussion. But because of his ill-health, I am entrusted with this job. Surely, I don't consider myself competent enough or equal to him. But I will try to do as best as I can, in this task.

The hon. President, in 76 paragraphs of his Address, has touched upon three major areas. He has dealt with the security, both internal and external, and has touched upon the national resolve to fight against cross-border terrorism, which is being continuously aided and abetted by our neighbour on the western side. A large part of the Presidential Address is devoted to the various issues, specially the issues, which are challenging the nation in regard to economic development, high growth especially in the context of launching of the Tenth Plan, which starts from the 1$^{s'}$ April, 2002. In the latter part, as customary, he has dwelt upon our relations with our neighbours and the crucial issues of our external relations. Sir, I would like to make my observations with a very general comment on the observations made by both, the Mover of the Motion and the Seconder of the Motion. The Seconder of the Motion talked of the new generation, the generation of today, which is looking forward to higher growth, which is looking forward to eradication of poverty in our lifetime -- if I separate myself from that generation - in their lifetime. That was the thrust of his speech who seconded the Motion. But the major part of the speech devoted by the Mover of Motion is not to the future but to the past -- and not the immediate past, but a very remote past....*(Interruptions)..* May be, or, may not be,.I do not know. Only the future will judge it. *...(Interruptions)..* But even as assuming that - as he is absolutely correct on facts -- certain distortions which took place 500 years ago or 700 years ago are to be rectified, that is also being sanctified as an expression of the national sentiments. Therefore, this basic contradiction which represents the ruling coalition has not only been manifesting itself in various areas but also even in the Motion of Thanks moved and seconded by two representatives of the NDA. But it is their business to manage contradictions. It is not my business. I would like to concentrate only on two paragraphs. I will start

with paragraphs 14 and 15. *...(Interruptions)..* Unity in diversity, it seems. In paragraph 14 and 15, he has commented on communalism and also on Ayodhya. Maintenance of communal harmony, adherence to the secular ideals of our Constitution are the bedrock of our national ethos. Nobody disputes that. I wish to record with much satisfaction that keeping in view the trends in recent years, there have been relatively fewer incidents of communal violence in 2001. The Government has patted itself for fewer communal incidents during the last four years of their governance. The speech was delivered at 11.00 a.m. on 25th February. The Government did not know, the President did not know in less than 48 hours, what was going to happen in one part of the country. I do not expect either the hon. President or the Government to be the fortune-tellers. But is it too much to expect from the Government, when the atmosphere is surcharged with a definite agenda, on a definite time frame, that it would take some precautionary measures, some anticipatory action, to prevent certain undesirable incidents? When we had a debate on the Gujarat incidents, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had the privilege of initiating the discussion, and I must appreciate the very candid and bold admission by the hon. Home Minister. He said, while replying to the debate, that it was a blot on the NDA. He has admitted it; and it is good. But a mere confession is not enough because he is not an individual going to the confessional and making confession before a priest. He is the Home Minister of the country. Maintenance of internal security and protecting the State from internal disturbances is the responsibility of the Government of India -- especially to protect the State from internal disturbances. As per article 355 of the Constitution, the responsibility lies on the Government of India; and, as the Union Home Minister, he is responsible. What still intrigues us is the movement of Karsevaks coming and going, especially in sensitive areas and areas having a track record of communal incidents. Is it too much to expect of the Government that they would take certain preventive and precautionary measures? When one incident takes place, is it too much to expect that the administration would try to resolve the issue and try to contain the incidents to as limited areas as possible? I am not interested in classifying the incident; whether it was a reaction or an action or whether it has been dealt with more effectively, when compared to earlier incidents. It is the job of the news analysts. It is not the job of the administrator. The responsibility of the administrator is : if there is fire, he has to pour a bucket of water and prevent others from carrying that fire to other places. Therefore, if the atmosphere was surcharged with emotions, it was incumbent on the part of the Government; the responsibility remained with the Government, a larger responsibility bestowed on the Government, to take preventive measures.

Sir, para 15 of the President's Address deals with Ay.odhya. I do not think that anybody will contest the observation of the hon. President that the Ayodhya dispute is one of the contentious issues before the nation. Its amicable and speedy resolution is crucial for communal harmony and national integration. Nobody is going to dispute that. It is absolutely true. We have no quarrel; though we believe that the issue should be resolved only through the court. Assuming, for a moment, that the Government have two options either through mutual agreement among all the parties concerned or through the verdict of the Judiciary. The Government did not talk of any third option. Therefore, when the Government tried, even at the highest level, to resolve the issue through mutual agreement among the various religious leaders, however, dissatisfied we might have been, we did not raise our voice. Because we knew that this was Government's agenda, and we thought if the Government could try to resolve this issue through mutual agreement, fine, let them do that. We were interested in the resolution of the issue, not in the methodology. But it really puzzles me, Mr. Chairman, Sir, and I most respectfully submit my inadequacy in appreciating the situation. What prompted the Government at this particular moment, when the situation is so surcharged, when bleeding is still taking place, to plead before the members of the Supreme Court Bench to allow some sort of a symbolic*pujal* I am not going into the merit of the agenda. I am not going into the correct legal interpretation of the 1994 verdict of the Supreme Court. As a political activist, I am raising this simple question, whether, in an inflammatory situation like this, this particular attitude and approach of the Government is helping the Government to defuse the tension or is helping to deescalate the tension. I would like to put this simple question before the Government. Did you not recognize the fact that this issue may become another bone of contention? And, such an impression was created that many of us, sitting on this side, allowed ourselves to believe -- I am using the words 'we allowed ourselves to believe', we should not have believed that the Government was neutral, and that the PIL was being contested between two individuals or two groups of individuals. An impression was given that if they were called by the Supreme Court, their response would be that whatever the court would decide they would go by that. They would not add anything. They would not give any interpretation. If they had done like that, what happened yesterday in the Lok Sabha and here, perhaps, could have easily been avoided, and you would have moved towards descalation of the tension; not escalation of the tension.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the President has discussed in detail about the internal security and what steps should be taken, and he has very correctly pointed out I do agree when the President, in paragraph 5, says, "On a parallel track, we have taken several diplomatic and political measures against Pakistan." I am prepared to accept this statement of the Government. For the first time, we succeeded, in this parallel track movement, in isolating Pakistan, in exposing Pakistan before the world community. International opinion was built up against them. But, most respectfully, I would like to submit," through you, Sir, to the Leader of the House, who is incharge of the Ministry of External Affairs that is it not a fact that those two pictures -- one the picture of a four-year old boy, Asif, with 90% burns, bearing a haunted Jook, published in almost all the newspapers on 5th of March, this photograph was taken only a few hours before he died in Ahmedabad hospital -- and the other picture of a man with folded hands, tearful eyes, again, taken by Reuters, displayed in all the newspapers on 2nd of March, begging the security forces to protect his life -- have destroyed the image of our country, which we had built up so assiduously? After 55 years of Independence, after 52 years of adopting a secular Constitution, the situation was such that he was begging of the security forces for protecting his life. He was not begging for anything else, not even the property, but was begging for protecting his life. Weren't those two pictures enough to destroy the image of our country? Now, it is for you to assess and not for me, as to whether you have gained, or, you have lost because of this. How long would it take to retrieve the situation? Mr. Chairman, Sir, perhaps, I was one of the happiest persons when after 13th December, while making observation on the floor of this House, the hon. Prime Minister remarked, "Immediately after the attack on Indian Parliament, if the Leader of the Opposition inquires after the health and safety of the Prime Minister, it assures me that the Indian democracy is mature enough; the Indian democracy is strong enough." Therefore, there are no two opinions about it. I assure my young friend, Mr. Panda, -- Mr. Panda is not here -- that on this issue, it was not merely the United States of America who reacted in a particular way, but after the 11th of September, this very House -- we, the Members of Parliament -- had responded in the same way. Though we were having quarrels, we were having differences, we were not at one with each other, after the incident of 13th December, we, the Members of Parliament; the quarrelsome groups, decided that, this was the occasion when we would have to demonstrate before the whole world, -- by working unitedly, by paying our respects to our brave security forces, and by transacting normal business -- that Indian Parliament cannot be cowed down by the terrorists. Therefore, we know how to respond; we know how to

react. We are mature enough. Therefore, my most respectful submission to the Government of the day is, you have to decide as to what your agenda should be; you have to decide as to what your priority should be; you have to decide whether winning Assembly elections, and having a provincial Government is so important that such steps are taken which can vitiate the overall emotionally surcharged atmosphere, at a particular point of time. In politics, a particular time is very important. It may not appear to be as serious at a particular point of time, but the same incident, the same strategy may prove totally counter-productive, if the situation changes. Is this the appropriate time to whip up these kind of sentiments? Though, sometimes, sentiments gather momentum, what is the job and responsibility of the Government -- whether to diffuse it or to escalate it? Therefore, this agenda has to be decided by you. Are you interested in rectifying some mistakes, committed 500 years ago, or, would you like to take this country to -- I would like to put it in your own words --the second generation of reforms? The two things cannot go side by side; the choice is yours; you have to choose.

Coming to the second part of the observations made by the hon. President, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that we will have the opportunity, perhaps - I am using the word 'perhaps' because, now-a-days, I find that discussion on subjects like Budget proposals, Money Bill, Finance Bill, etc., have become casualities of our own actions - to discuss the financial aspects. I am not blaming anybody. Collectively, we are deciding that we should not discuss these things. Therefore, I would not be surprised at all if the expenditure proposals of Rs. 4 lakh crores are approved by Parliament without any debate or discussion, That is why I am using the word 'perhaps'. Otherwise, the opportunity for discussing the major economic issues would be during the discussion on the Budget proposals. But, as the President has said - and rightly so - the Session has been called to transact important financial and monetary business. Naturally, starting from the President to the Finance Minister to the Railway Minister, everybody is dealing with different aspects of the economy. The President has very correctly pointed out that we require a higher growth rate - 8 per cent growth rate. I have no quarrel; all of us want it. But, I am really intrigued when the President pats the Government that the 5.4 per cent growth rate - which is also a quick estimate -- for the year 2001-02, is a matter of satisfaction. It is not a matter of satisfaction at all. It is matter of grave dissatisfaction. When we started the Ninth Plan, we set a target of 7 per cent growth rate per year. When you finalised the Ninth Plan, you reduced it to 6.5 per cent. And, during the four years of your rule, you have

been reducing it. In 1998-99, it was 6.5 per cent; in 1999-2000, it was reduced to 6.1 per cent; in 2000-01, it was further reduced to 4.6 per cent; and, according to the quick estimates for 2001-02, it would be 5.1 per cent. Therefore, nowhere, it is near even 6.5 per Gent. Mr. Panda was mentioning and, very correctly so, about the state of the economy. Yes; it is one of the five fastest-growing economies. If we take the yardstick of purchasing ^Sbwer parity, it would be one of the largest economies of the world; nobody denies it. And I have no regret; I have no apology. Whatever we have achieved, we have achieved by our own efforts. If we spend, say, Rs. 100 on our development, nearly Rs. 96-97 comes from our own internal resources; it may be borrowed resources; it may not be our own resources, but these are internal resources. In this country's development, external support is minimum. And, by our own efforts, during 1951-79, our GDP growth - Hindu growth rate -- as per Dr. Rajadhayaksha's observations, was 3.5 per cent. We ourselves have come out of that syndrome. In the 80's, we achieved a growth rate of 5.8 per cent; in the 90's, the average growth rate - if we take the first five years of the 90's - would be more than 6 per cent. Therefore, we have adapted ourselves. We have adjusted our policies from time to time.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if you want to adjourn the House for lunch, you can do so, because I would like to take some more time. But, if you kindly permit me ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can continue after lunch.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Okay; Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch, at one of the clock.
The House re-assembled after lunch at two of the clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, SHRI NILOTPAL BASU, in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Now, we will resume the discussion which was going on, on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I think hon. Shri Pranab Mukherjee was on his legs. *interruption).*

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तरांचल) **:** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। कल मैंने तत्कालीन पीठासीन अधिकारी की सेवा में एक नोटिस प्रस्तुत किया था और वह यह था कि जो हमारे उपसभाध्यक्षों का पैनल है, उसमें से एक वरिष्ठ सम्मानीय सदस्य ने पीठासीन अधिकारी के निर्णय की अवहेलना की। बार-बार पीठासीन अधिकारी के आश्वस्त करने पर और यह विश्वास दिलाने पर कि जो आप कह रहे हैं, वह होगा, उन्होंने उस आदेश को नहीं माना और

बार-बार नहीं, नहीं कहते रहे। इससे हमारे इस सदन की परम्परा को बड़ी भारी ठेस पहुंची है। जब स्वयं पीठासीन अधिकारी ही पीठासीन अधिकारी के आदेश का, निर्णय का पालन नहीं करेगा, उसकी अवहेलना करेगा तो साधारण सदस्य का क्या होगा? इसलिए मैंने उनसे विनम्र निवेदन किया था कि संबंधित पीठासीन अधिकारी से कहा जाए कि वह अपने पद को छोड़ दें। मान्यवर, मैं आपसे जानना चाहताहूं कि मेरे उस नोटिस का क्या हुआ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नीलोत्पल बसु) : गौतम जी, मेरे विचार से अगर आपने व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाया है तो किस धारा के तहत आप उसे उठा रहे हैं , अगर वह बता देते तो बेहतर होता। दूसरा, जैसा आप जानना चाहते हैं कि उस संबंध में क्या हुआ तो यह गंभीर मामला है और मेरे विचार से सभापति महोदय ही इस संबंध में निर्णय लेंगे। इसलिए जब माननीय सभापति महोदय पीठासीन होंगे, तब आप इस संबंध में उनसे पूछें।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) **:** महोदय, इस व्यवस्था के प्रश्न पर मेरा एक निवेदन है। मान लीजिए कि हम पीठासीन अधिकारी हो गये या पैनल में आ गये और यहां पर कोई दूसरा बैठा हो। तो क्या **एक** मैंबर की हैसियत से हम अपनी बात नहीं कह सकते या क्या बाकी मैंबर्स को यह हक होगा कि बार-बार चेयर से यह व्यवस्था देने के लिए आग्रह करें कि इन्हें बिठाया जाए। इस तरह से तो चेयर पर बैठने के बाद उस मैंबर का अधिकार ही खत्म हो जाएगा। यह सोचने का विषय है क्योंकि पैनल तो सदन का काम चलाने के लिए बनाया जाता है। बाकी तो यहां के मैंबर्स हैं, वे फुल फ्लैज मैंबर की तरह ही रहेंगे और वही काम करेंगे जो अन्य सदस्य करते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नीलोत्पल बसु) : जनेश्वर जी, आप बहुत पुराने सदस्य हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : आप विषयांतर मत करिए। आप बात को मिलाइए नहीं। वास्तविकता वास्तविकता ही है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : इस तरह से तो कोई भी पीठासीन अधिकारी बनने को तैयार नहीं होगा।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री दीपांकर मुखर्जी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) **:** आप गलत काम करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ।... (व्यवधान)... इस तरह से बार-बार बात को दोहराकर ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नीलोत्पल बसु) : दीपांकर जी, आप लोगों से मेरी एक विनती है कि आप इस बात को समझने की कोशिश कीजिए। क्योंकि यह चिट्ठी सभापति जी को लिखी गयी है इसलिए मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि इसमें मेरा कोई दृष्टिकोण सम्मिलित हो। आप जो भी कह रहे हैं, उस संबंध में सभापति जी के समक्ष अपने विचार रख सकते हैं। उनको ही इस संबंध में निर्णय लेने का अधिकार है। मेरे ख्याल से यह कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है। यह जो सवाल आपने उठाया है, यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं हो सकता। यह केवल आपका विचार है और इस विचार के बारे में अगर राय जाननी है तो जिनको आपनेन चिट्ठी लिखी है, उनसे ही राय मांगना बेहतर होगा और यही इस सदन की गरिमा के अनुकूल होगा।

SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN (Kerala): Sir, this point was raised in the morning also. That is not fair, *interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): It is all right, Mr. Premachandran. Shri Pranab Mukherjee to resume the discussion on Motion of Thanks on President's Address.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : Sir,. I was pointing out that the hon. President in his Address has discussed about the necessity of higher Economic growth, and then, in para 18, he has very correctly pointed out that 8 per cent trajectory growth is necessary. I quote. "This alone can ensure success in our objective of doubling the per capita income in the next ten years, and reducing the number of people living below the poverty line by half." There can be no two opinions on it. The moot question is how to achieve it. The Prime Minister has been repeatedly telling, the Finance Minister has been repeatedly telling that we want 8 per cent growth. Somebody is suggesting that if we have the second generation reforms, there will be 8 per cent growth. Somebody is going to the extent that if we disinvest all the public sector enterprises, and dispose of all their shares, worth two lakhs and eight crores of rupees, that will lead to 8 per cent of growth. This is not so. The hardcore fact is that for 8 per cent growth, you require investment in the neighbourhood of 30 to 32 per cent of GDP. If I assume that incremental capital output ratio is 4 per cent, 8 per cent growth in real terms leads to the investment level of 32 per cent of GDP. From where will these resources come? What is the level of present GDP growth? The present level of GDP growth is 24.3 per cent in 2000-2001.

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: On domestic savings!

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: No, on GDP growth, on investment. So far as the rate of domestic savings is concerned, it is 23.2 there is 24 per cent investment and 23.3 per cent savings, and the balance one or one-and-half percent you are having from abroad. It is manageable. It is understandable. But when you want to jump from 24 percent to 32 per cent, from where will the balance come? This balance, I am afraid, is not going to come from the external sources, however, liberal you may be on the FDI, because this has been discussed repeatedly on the floor of this House that the investible resources in the global economy, all over the world are not unlimited. From 1995 to 2001, world development reports indicate the figures which are fluctuating from 300 to 350 billion U.S. dollars as the available investible resources. Nearly two-third of that goes to the industrialized countries; 70-75 per cent of the remaining 33 per cent goes to China and other Asian Tigers, and the rest is distributed among 100 plus countries. Therefore, your share in the forseeable future, cannot be more than five-six billion U.S. dollars, which in terms of percentage, would be roughly about

one or one-and-half per cent of GDP. Therefore, the answer lies in one thing, that is, you must step up your rate of domestic savings. I am sorry to say that-the rate of domestic savings in this country has been allowed to swing. I gave you the figure of 23.02 per cent in 2000-2001. But we reached 25.6 per cent in 1995-96. From there, we have come down to 23.02 per cent, because the Finance Minister is constantly giving a signal, and this is not a new point which I am making here. I have been stating it repeatedly, but, unfortunately, nobody is listening. That is why I am to repeat it that you are giving a signal to spend not to say in your fiscal policy, but specially, in your total casual *ad hoc* method in determining the interest rates on monetary instruments, on banks fixed deposits and on long-term saving instruments, you are giving a totally contrary signal because of so much fluctuations, almost, from year to year, and sometimes, more than once in a year. Therefore, the people do not feel it safe to invest. What have been the consequences? What are the recent developments? Suddenly, the gold prices have increased substantially. In other words, a part of the investible resources is not going into the stock market, however solid is the desire the Finance Minister might have. If we want to achieve a growth rate of 37 per cent, we must encourage the savings, and this cannot be done merely by taking totally casual, and *ad hoc* measures in this regard.

The third point that I want to make is this. The Finance Minister is talking of the Fiscal Responsibility Act. Fine. The Report of the Committee is available. Upto 1990-91, the States had a surplus on the balance from the current revenues. At the Centre, there was a deficit. But all the States taken together; there was a surplus in 1990-91. The States and the Centre taken together, the deficit from BCR (balance from current revenues) was Rs.5,000 crores. There was a negative contribution through BCR, the Centre and the States taken together. This was the figure in 1990-91; this figure had increased from Rs.5,000 ctpres to Rs. 19,000 crores of rupees, in a period of ten years. The point I am trying to drive at is, you cannot bring about reforms by merely chanting it, like a sloka in the Bhagwad Gita. Reforms are meant for higher growth, for higher employment generation, liberating the economy, liberating the potential of the various economic forces. These are to be upgraded in that context. Second generation reforms, third generation reforms, reforms in the financial sector-these jargons are not going to help us. What is going to help us is to address the problem squarely. Are you prepared to do that? Everytime, you are talking about subsidies. Have we, ever, seriously, debated and tried to build up a national consensus on subsidy? This morning, we were having a question on how to meet these contradictory positions. On the one hand, there is a

huge stock of procured foodgrains in Government godowns. On the other hand, there is no adequate revenue because in the whole concept of food economy and the concept of food security, production, procurement and distribution, all three were linked, and there was an element of subsidy. I am not going into the question whether you did the correct thing and whether the State Exchequer has the capacity to bear it or not. But it has been a hard fact that when there are large stocks of foodgrains, the Government is put under pressure for procurement, but when there is no lifting from the Government stock, the Government has to carry these stocks and bear the expenditure of carrying them. This surplus is there. Everybody will agree-and it is true also- that 15 to 16 per cent of GDP cannot be spent on subsidy. But let us identify the areas where the subsidy is necessary and where it is not necessary. Why can't there be a proper discussion on this? Why can't there be an informed debate and discussion on these issues? This affects our life. That is why I am raising this issue, that it is a question of priority which the Government of the day has to decide. What is your priority? What do you want to take up first? Economic development, industrialisation, making yourself abreast of the current situations to go along with the whole world? Or, your entire energy will be diverted to resolving the problem, which you admit, as if it was created some 500 years ago. This is the basic question which we have to address. We have to admit certain ground realities. We are a pluralistic society. Some of the people may not like it. But this is the reality. We cannot ignore the fact that our strength lies not in uniformity, but in plurality. We have to admit that India is one of the very few countries where all the three distinct groups of people, the Mongolians, the Dravidians and Caucasians, live together under one system, under one authority, with a variety of languages, religions, customs, uses, dresses, etc. To my mind, this has not weakened us. This has only strengthened us. The moot question is whether we should strengthen this plurality or, in the guise of a new concept of oneness, one people, one culture, we should destroy this plurality and diversity. Most respectfully I would like to submit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that if we destroy that diversity, if we destroy that plurality, we will contribute to the disintegration of the country. I don't like the statement made in 1947, in the third week of June, when the Indian Independence Act was passed in the House of Commons, by the then Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Winston Churchill, "For 190 years we preserved the oldest civilisation of the world and we are handing over that civilisation, that society-it is his own language; I do not subscribe to it—to a group of persons of fraud and the Indian society, the- Indian culture and the Indian civilisation will be destroyed". What is happening today? it is not my job,

like a police inspector, to investigate who was responsible for the Godhra incident or who was responsible for what had happened in Ahmedabad. These are symptoms. We have to address the root cause of the disease, with our attitude towards plurality and diversity. We have to reconcile with that fact. There will be dissensions; there will be disagreement; there will be divergence of opinion. But in our broad catholicity, we have to accept them. If we accept them, there will be no problem. Nation building can be carried on.

The financial position of some of the States is very bad. You will be surprised to know that, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I have full sympathy for my good old friends, both Mr. Jaswant Singh and Mr. Yashwant Sinha. What a tremendous problem Mr. Sinha is facing today. Just take, for example, two States, one special category State and another non-special category State. In the case of non-special category State, I am taking the example of Orissa from where Mr.Panda, whose family made its contribution to the industrialisation of that State, comes. What was the picture of the State finances? In 1980-81, 20 years ago, the State's own revenue was Rs.266 crores. Taking together the devolution from the Centre, the amount of Rs.266 crores became Rs.621 crores. The expenditure on salary and pension of the Orissa State Government employees was Rs.279 crores. The other total non-Plan expenditure was Rs.547 crores. The receipts were Rs.621 crores; the expenditure was Rs.547 crores; and the State was left with a surplus of Rs.74 crores. In 1999-2000, the State's own'revenue had increased to Rs. 2,421 from Rs. 266 crores in 1980-81. In 1999-2000 the Central devolution had also increased to Rs.5,887 crores from Rs.547 crores in 1980-81. But the expenditure on salaries and pensions account alone, during this period of 20 years, had increased from Rs.279 crores to Rs.5,773 crores. The net result is, the State which had a surplus of Rs. 75 crores 20 years ago, is left -with a deficit of Rs. 2,575 crores. How to meet this deficit? Sir, 63 per cent of the Centre's and State's fiscal deficit is due to the revenue deficit. How to address these problems? These are the issues, to my mind, which should engage our attention, not the construction of a temple. That can wait. This is the issue which we shall have to address. We are really entering into some sort of an internal debt trap. Sir, 55 per cent of our GDP comes from internal debts. In other words, if we take the GDP at the current price, i.e. 2000-01, we are borrowing 88 per cent of Rs. 12,0860 crores, not from the Reserve Bank of India, not through the deficit financing route, but through the normal market borrowing route bearing an interest rate of 8 to 9 per cent. Where are we going? What will be the' position even at the end of the Tenth Plan? This year 50.5 per cent of our

total interests has been paid on interests alone and it is increasing in a geometric progression. To my mind, these are the issues which we shall have to debate. These are the issues on which we shall have to formulate a policy and evolve a consensus, which can help the country. I would like to make an appeal to the Government. All of us are waiting with bated breath as to what is going to happen tomorrow. I believe in God. I hope, God would help us and nothing untoward would happen tomorrow. It is not a question of having a particular belief or a desire. It is a question of human lives. The basic parameter of a civil society is that we must live in peace; and in this society there is the State administration to protect us. This is the minimum requirement of a civil society. Today, after 55 years of Independence, if the very concept of a civil society is challenged or threatened with challenges, I am afraid, there would be nothing regretful than that situation. Most respectfully, I would like to submit that I oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address but repeat that it does not reflect, in any way, any disrespect to the hon. President, but, surely, I disagree with the policies of the Union Government. I am opposing the Motion of Thanks with an appeal: 'please try to ensure that tension is defused or, at least, deescalated'. You are in charge of the administration. There is no need to say that the law and order is a State subject. Who does not know it? Even for an ordinary crime, Members of Parliament sitting here demand that the CBI should investigate the matter, not the State IB because they do not have confidence in them. Even if there is a Panchayat election, sometimes, we demand that the Central para-military forces should be deployed because the State police is not competent enough to deal with the normal democratic functions like holding an election. There is no need to say that law and order is a State subject and it is the responsibility of the State. I know it. Everybody knows it.

But as the Union Government, as the Federal Government, it is your responsibility to ensure that people live in peace, that people live in communal harmony. And, for God's sake, don't destroy our plurality; don't destroy our diversity. Our plurality, our diversity, is a source of strength, not a source of weakness. Thank you.

SHRI S. RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand to oppose the Motion of Thanks moved by Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma. I also want to make it clear that by doing so, I don't mean any disrespect to the hon. President of India.

Sir, this is one of the important occasions that we get to express our views about the overall policies of the Government. We expected that

President's Address would give us an opportunity to understand the assessment of the Government, on the overall situation and its perspective about how they are going to tackle it; but I am disappointed. Instead of giving us an opportunity to understand the assessment of the Government, on the objective situation and its perspective, it appears that the Government has chosen to give us a compendium of the Annual Report summaries. This can be because of two reasons. One is, the Government does not want to tell us its perspective. The other may be that the Government wants to conceal its perspective or, maybe, it does not have any perspective in tackling these issues.

The whole Address is prepared by the Government. It seems to me that the Government is making use of the trick of concealment as a perfect politice. I can cite umpteen examples. One of the claims made in the speech is about the foodgrains production. It states, The output of foodgrains is projected to touch a new height of 210 million tones in 2001-02 from 196 million tones last year.* Through this, the Government wants to convey that we have reached the highest level of foodgrains production. Is it not a fact that we had reached this level in 1999-2000 itself? Or, maybe, it was even more. Is it not a fact that our country failed to achieve the target of 234 million tonnes of foodgrains targeted by the Ninth Five Year Plan for the year 2001-02? There is a shortage of 24 million tonnes of foodgrains. The Government wants to conceal this reality. Is it not a fact that the per-capita-per-day availability of food grains declined from 510.10 gms. in 1991 to 417 gms. in 2001. There is a substantial decline in the per-capita-per-day availability of foodgrains. The Government wants to conceal this reality.

It is also a fact that the annual growth rate of foodgrains production decelerated to 1.67% in the 90's -- which is lower than the 1.9% growth rate of population. This is the reality. We failed to achieve the target set in the Ninth Five Year Plan. The per capita availability of foodgrains declined. So, the Government does not want to reveal the reality. It seems the Government wants to convey that there is no need to lay emphasis on attaining self-sufficiency in food. It would be a dangerous situation. If we fail to give proper attention and lay proper emphasis on increasing the foodgrains production in India, we will not be able to prevent starvation deaths. Not only that, we wjll be unable to protect the sovereignty and independence of India.

There is another assertion made in this Address. In paragraph 26, it is said, "Inflation has touched a new low, the lowest in the last two decades". But what is the reality? What are -the reasons for the decline in

the inflation rate? Is it not a fact that the great crash in the prices of agricultural commodities, due to the impact of the WTO regime, a bane of Indian peasants and agricultural workers, is one of the reasons for the low inflation rate. Why does the Government not want to tell us the whole truth?

There is another assertion made in this Address. In paragraph 26, it is stated, "Our foreign exchange reserves are at a record level". Is it not a fact that the present comfortable level of foreign exchange is also a consequence of the hot money-flows? Would it not be possible that it could disappear at any moment?

Sir, there is another very illuminating example of artful concealment of truth'in paragraph 27. It talks about what we have achieved at the Doha Conference. It says, "India successfully defended her national Interest at the WTO's Ministerial Conference at Doha last year. We also ensured that the subsequent round of trade negotiations would address the key concerns of the developing world". The Government wants to convey the message that we have been able to protect our interests in the Ministerial Conference at Doha. But what is the reality? The Commerce Minister himself said at Doha about the draft prepared at the Doha Ministerial Conference. He said, "The only conclusion that could be drawn is that the developing countries have little say in the agenda of the WTO. It appears that the whole process was a mere formality and we are being coerced against our will. Is it not then meaningless for the draft declaration to claim that the needs and interests of the developing countries had been • placed at the heart of the world programme". This is what the Commerce Minister spoke at the Doha Conference. Was any substantial change made subsequent to this? No substantial change was made in the Doha Declaration. Now, the Government says that India was able to protect its interests at the Doha Conference. On every occasion, the Government wants to convey a wrong impression, a wrong assessment of the whole situation. The Government wants to conceal the reality. If you want to solve our problems, then, you have to make an objective assessment of the overall situation; otherwise, you will fail. The Government is not telling us the truth. The truth is that the present policies are dangerous to the interests of our country; the present policies are not protecting our interests.

Sir, there is also another assertion made in the President's Address, in paragraph 42; it is a very interesting assertion/That is about the public sector undertakings. It says, "The public sector has played a laudable role in enabling our country to achieve the national objective of self-reliance." Nobody disputes it. But what is the Government doing on this? There is

another statement made in this particular paragraph. It says, "The prolonged fiscal haemorrhage from the majority of these enterprises cannot be sustained any longer." What does it mean? Some of the undertakings are incurring heavy losses; we cannot continue with this kind of losses. India should disinvest all these loss-making public sector undertakings. But, what is the performance of the Government in the present situation? Is it the loss-making public sector undertakings that they are privatising? No. It is the profit-making public sector undertakings which they are privatising. So, on every occasion, the Government is trying to conceal the truth, and trying to confuse the people.

Sir, paragraph 15 of the President's Address deals with the Ayodhya issue. The issue is not whether the Attorney-General has filed an affidavit or not, whether he made only an oral plea. What is the impression the Government gave to the entire country? The Government called a meeting of all the political parties; discussed it there. We have raised this matter on many occasions here, in this House. The impression the Government conveyed was, the Government will maintain the *status quo,* but, before the court, the Government made an entirely different representation. The Government asked the court to allow *puja.* The Government also the Court that if a symbolic *puja* is allowed there, it will not disturb law and order situation in the country. They have not said that to us. Is that political honesty? In democracy, of course, different political parties have different views. Tell us frankly. Till yesterday, the Government did not tell ei trier the political parties or the House that they have a different perception.

Their perception is similar to that of VHP's. Their perception is to allow symbolic *pooja* there. So, on ail these matters, the Government is trying to conceal the truth and trying to confuse the people.

Sir, another important aspect I wish to raise here is, the Government has not made any correct assessment of the overall world situation. Now, we are living in a new changed world situation. The Government should tell us what their assessment of the world situation is and what their assessment of the role of different players in this world is. Of course, there also, the Government gave us a catalogue of their relations with various countries, but that is not sufficient.

In para 71, the Government deals with its relations with the USA. I don't say that we can't have any relations with the USA. In this unipolar world, the USA is a super power. We have to interact with them and we have to enter into relations with them. But, while we enter into relations with them, we should be able to protect our interests. Is it not a fact that the

USA is trying to impose its hegemony on military matters, on economic matters, and on political matters here? As per one report, America accounts for 36% of the entire world's military expenditure. I don't want to go into the past. But, when we enter into relations with America, we should be very, very careful. In this Speech, the Government' didn't mention their attitude towards the commissions and omissions on the pad of the USA.

They have now taken a decision to go ahead with the National Missile Defence System. Would that protect India's interests? America also took a decision to withdraw from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972. Unilaterally, they withdrew from that treaty. The USA also withdrew from a ten-year-old Biological Weapons Convention. India is a signatory to that. America also withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol on Environment. Their main criticism is against India and China But nothing is mentioned in the Speech about this. Recently, the Pentagon prepared a new plan, to be completed in the year 2020-Joint Vision of 2020. What does it say?

It speak about "full spectrum dominance". I am not going into the details of it. They want to establish dominance, throughout the world, by 2020 When we enter into relations with America, their violation of the earlier agreements, their intentions to dominate the entire world, their attempt to make use of international institutions foi their own purposes, we should always take these factors into our consideration.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Mr. Pillai, before you go to the next point, may I just remind you that your Party has two speakers.

SHRI S. RAMACHANDRAN PIUAI. Yes, Sir. I am concluding my speech. In this speech, the Government does not offer anything to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women in this country. *...(Interruptions)..*

AN HON. MEMBER: They think that women do not exist in this country. ... *(Interruptions)..*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): You are consuming Mr. Pillai's time *...interruptions)..*

SHRI S. RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI. I want to draw the attention of this House to the speech made by the President of India on the eve of the Republic Day of 2002, which says, "The problem of women in India *is symbolic of the problem of inequalities and injustices in our society in-general. Even today, it is amazing that we have not become an inclusive

society in spite of political triumph of our democracy. The discrimination being suffered by women, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is a crying denial of democracy that is enshrined in our Constitution."

This is the indictment made by the President of India about the performance of the Government in protecting the women, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. He also said, "Dowry system is not only responsible for snuffing out lives of our women, at a very young age, but is also primarily responsible for growing incidence of female foetus .in the country. Incidences of rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment at work places and trafficking of women have increased manifold. Half the number of women killed in India are killed in their bedrooms. Rise in cases of sexual harassment by 40 per cent, dowry deaths by 15.2 per cent, smuggling of girls by 87.2 per in 1998 are indicative of their traumatised existence. No place is safe for- them, not even their mother's wombs. They are put to death even before they are born. The experience of Draupadi in the court of Kauravas has become symbolic of ill-treatment of women in our country." Finally he quoted one of the poems of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that in every Panchayat Draupadi is robbed of her honour. . "हर पंचायत में पांचाली अपमानित है"

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मंत्री जी से रहे हैं। महिलाओं की बात हो रही है और मंत्री जी सो रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी (उत्तर प्रदेश) **:** वे बड़े ध्यान से इनकी बात सुन रहे हैं

SHRI S. RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI: This is an indictment made by the President about the condition of our women in our country. I do not have a forceful language than what he expressed here. I once again express my opposition to the Motion of Thanks if this Government follows this policy. With these words, I conclude.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (**श्री नीलोत्पल बसु**) **:** ठीक है, बस कीजिए। मैं थोड़ा .....(व्यवधान).. ठीक है मैबल जी, आपका जो पोइट है वह मंत्री जी ने सुन लिया है। अब वह सचेत हैं। पहले मेरे से एक चूक हो गई थी ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : पांचाली के अपमानित होने पर भीष्म पितामह भी सो रहे थे। अगर मंत्री जी सो गए तो क्या हो गया?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (**श्री नीलोत्पल बसु**) **:** जनेश्वर जी, उनकी अंतरात्मा को जागृत करने की जो कोशिश हुई उसके लिए बधाई। लेकिन पहले मेरे से चूक हो गई थी। मुझे श्री विक्रम वर्मा को बुलाना था। श्री विक्रम वर्मा जी।

श्री विक्रम वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) **:** माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण पर माननीय डा. महेश चन्द्र शर्मा जी ने जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका

समर्थन करता हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इस अभिभाषण में जहां एक ओर विगत वर्षो में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में सरकार की उपलब्धियों का वर्णन है, वहीं दूसरी ओर वाले समय में जो भविष्य की योजनाएं हैं उसका भी दिग्दर्शन इस अभिभाषण में हमें देखने को मिलता है, उसकी भी एक प्रकार से विस्तृत रूपरेखा इसमें प्रस्तुत की गई है। मैं उन सभी विषयों की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं करना चाहता जिनकी ओर ध्यान आकर्षित कराया गया है। लेकिन कुछ एक-दो बिन्दुओं पर खास तौर पर जो आर्थिक पक्ष है पर जरूर ध्यान आकर्षित कराना चाहूंगा, जैसा अभी आदरणीय प्रणबदा ने बताया कि किस प्रकार से **अर्थिक स्थिति पिछले समय मे बनी थि। लेकिन पिछले एक दो सालो के निरन्तर प्रयास से जिस द्रढ्ता के साथ कुछ कदम उटःऐं गए इसका एक सकारात्मक रुप जो सामने आ रहा है, और धीरे-धीरे ह्म आर्थिक** द्रढ़ता के साथ कुछ कदम उठाए गए उससे इसका एक सकारात्मक रूप जो सामने आ रहा है और धीरे-धीरे हम आर्थिक द्रढ़ता की तरफ हम बढ़ रहे हैं मैं उसके बारे में यहां पर अपनी बात प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगा। हम जानते हैं कि चाहे देश की सुरक्षा की बात हो, सर्वागीण विकास की बात हो लेकिन यदि हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था सुद्रढ़ नहीं हो तो फिर यह सारी बातें एक प्रकार से केवल बेमानी हो जाती हैं केवल कहने के लिए हो जाती है और इसलिए जो कुछ कदम उठाए गए हैं उनका विवरण मैं यहां प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगा। आप जानते हैं कि पिछले समय में विश्व व्यापी आर्थिक मंदी का जो दौर आया था, दुनिया का कोई भी राष्ट्र उससे अछूता नहीं रहा, अच्छी से अच्छी जिन देशों की सुद्रढ़ इकोनोमी थी, उसको भी हमने लुढकते हुए देखा है। लेकिन ऐसी परिस्थिति में भी, अपने देश की मुद्रा-स्फीति का बात आदरणीय प्रणब जी कर रहे थे, वास्तव में मुद्रा-स्फीति की दर बीच-बीच में तेजी से बढ़ी थी लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि 1.1 के न्यूनतम रिकार्ड पर वह पहली बार आकर टिकी है। लगभग पिछले दो दशक में हम देखें तो इतने न्यूनतम स्तर पर कभी भी मुद्रा-स्फीति की दर नहीं आई थी। विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार भी अगर हम देखें तो वह 50 बिलियन डॉलर सीमा पार कर गया है। उस द्रष्टि से भी आज हम अपने आपको सुरक्षित महसूस कर रहे हैं कि आज हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा का एक अपार भंडार भरा हुआ है। खाद्यान्न के बारे में भी यहां पर इतनी बातें हुई जिन्हें मुझे उसको दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। 60 मिलियन टन का भंडारण हमारे पास है। हमारा उत्पादन तो बढ़ा है और इसी के लिए सरकार ने जो भंडारण की व्यवस्था की है वह भी आज तक का एक प्रकार से रिकार्ड है।

अर्थ-व्यवस्था को ठीक करने की द्रष्टि से यह पहली बार हुआ है कि एक बार भाव बढ़ने के बाद पेट्रोलियम पदार्थो की कीमतें दो-दो बार शासन की ओर से कम की गई हैं। यहां पर कई बार विसंगति देखने को मिलती है कि एक ओर केन्द्र की सरकार, जहां उनके भाव कम करने का प्रयास करती है तो कुछ राज्य सरकारें सेल्स टैक्स पर सरचार्ज लगाकर, अपने-अपने राज्य मे एंट्री टैक्स लगाकर जो सीधा लाभ इसका जनता को मिलना चाहिए वह नहीं मिलने देती हैं। ऐसे मामलों में जहां पर पूरे देश की जनता को लाभ मिलना चाहिए तो उसके लिए राज्य सरकारों से इंटरेक्शन होना चाहिए कि जिन चीजों पर केन्द्र का शासन कीमतें कम करने के लिए आवश्यक कदम उठाता है, इस बारे में राज्य सरकारों से सम्पर्क करके यह निर्देश होना चाहिए कि कम से कम वह इस प्रकार की चीजों पर अतिरिक्त सरचार्ज, एंट्री टैक्स लगाकर, उसका सीधा लाभ जो जनता को मिलने वाला है उस लाभ को रोकने की कोशिश न करें। अभी मध्य प्रदेश में ऐसा ही हुआ है। पेट्रोल, डीजल पर यहां एक रूपया और पचास पैसा प्रति लीटर कम करने की बात हुई, लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश का बजट उसके तीन-चार दिन बाद आया और उसमें सेल्स टैक्स पर 15 परसेंट का सरचार्ज और वन परसेंट का एंट्री चार्ज लगाकर, जो एक लाभ मध्य प्रदेश की जनता को मिलना चाहिए था, वह उस लाभ से वंचित रह गई हैं। इसी प्रकार से अन्य स्टेट्स में भी हो सकता है। इसलिए इसको रोकने का निश्चित रूप से प्रयास होना चाहिए। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी ग्रोथ रेट की बात आई थी। ग्रोथ रेट के बारे में बताया गया है कि नाइथ फाइव ईयर

3.00 P.M.

प्लान के कन्क्लूड होने पर हम लगभग 5.4 प्रतिशत पर पहुंचने जा रहे हैं । जब हमने ग्रोथ रेट साढ़े छह परसेंट का नाइथ फाइव ईयर में टारगेट किया था तब हमारा विश्वास था कि साढ़े छह परसेंट की दर से हमारा ग्रोथ रेट बढ़ना चाहिए। जैसा कि हम जानते हैं कि नाइंथ फाइव ईयर की शुरूआत बहुत कमजोर ढंग से हुई थी, पहले एक-दो साल तक तो उस दिशा मे काम और प्रयास ही नहीं हो पाया, लेकिन अंतिम दो, ढाई, तीन वर्षो में उन योजनाओं पर ठीक से कार्यान्वयन होने के कारण 5.4 परसेंट की अचीवमेंट हमने की है।"This growth rate make some recovery over the low growth of 4 per cent in 2000-2001. It wHI also be one of the highest in the world in the current year. यदि हम इसको दूसरे इकोनोमिक सर्वे से कम्पेयर करें तो उसमें यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है। आज हम यहां पर बैठकर यह जरूर कह सकते हैं कि हमने ग्रोथ रेट साढ़े छह परसेंट तय किया था उससे यह एक परसेंट कम हैं। लेकिन आज विश्वव्यापी आर्थिक मंदी है औरउस आर्थिक मंदी से यदि हम इसको कम्पेयर करते हैं तो आज की परिस्थिति में, 2000-2001 की वर्तमान परिस्थिति में करेंट ईयर में हमारा हाईएस्ट ग्रोथ रेट बनता है। इसीलिए निश्चित रूप से हमें इस सरकार को धन्यवाद देना चाहिए कि विपरीत स्थिति में भी इसने पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंतिम दो-तीन वर्षो में अपने गोल्स को प्राप्त करने का प्रयास किया है और जिसके परिणामस्वरूप हम इस स्थिति में पहुंचे हैं। अभी बात आई थी कि हमारा बहुत पैसा ब्याज को चुकाने में चला जाता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ऋणग्रस्तता की ओर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा। उसमें भी डैप्थ वाली स्थिति में हमने किस तरह से रिकवर किया है। आप पेज तीन पर इसे देंखे, "India's external debt situation has improved significantly in recent years, as a result of effective external debt management by the Government. The external debt GDP ratio decreased from 28.7 per cent at the end of March, 1991 to 22.3 per cent at the end of March 2001, and further to 21 per cent at the end of September, 2001. The debt service ratio declined from the peak level of 35.3 per cent of current receipt in 1991 to 16.3 per cent in 2000-2001." For the first time the World Bank has classified India as a less indebted country.

पहली बार हमारी ऐसी स्थिति बनी है । यह हम इस आकलन से पता लगा सकते हैं। यह बात सही है कि एक समय हमारी स्थिति 35.5 प्रतिशत थी। आज धीरे-धीरे इन 10-11 वर्षो में हमने अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था को पटरी पर लाकर जो कड़े कदम उठाए, यह उस सबका ही परिणाम है कि आज वर्ल्ड बैंक की तरफ से जो कहा गया है, उसमें उन्हें इस स्थिति का उल्लेख करने की आवश्यकता पड़ी है। इसलिए अगर हम निराशाजनक चित्र खींचने का प्रयास करते हैं तो ठीक नहीं होगा। सरकार कड़े कदम उठा रही है, कोशिश कर रही है, प्रयास कर रही है। हम भी मानते हैं कि अभी और अधिक प्रयास करने की आवश्यकता हैं। स्वयं इसमें भी उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है । 18वें कॉलम में यह दिया हुआ है कि "बहरहाल वृद्धि की यह दर न तो पर्याप्त है और न ही संतोषजनक है ।" हमारी सरकार स्वयं इस बात को स्वीकार करती है कि वह इससे संतुष्ट नहीं है और इस संबंध में कड़े कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है। हमें तीव्र गति से अनेक सुधार करने की आवश्यकता है ताकि हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था की वृद्धि दर आठ प्रतिशत और उससे भी अधिक हो सके क्योंकि जिस प्रकार से हमारे यहां जनसंख्या बढ़ी है, आवश्यकताएं बढ़ी हैं, उसी

हिसाब से इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर डैवलप करने की आवश्यकता है। उस सबको देखते हुए जब तक हम ग्रोथ रेट को आठ प्रतिशत या उससे ऊपर नहीं ले जाएंगे, तब तक हम अपनी उन सब आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करते हुए उन्हें मीट आउट नहीं कर पाएंगे। महोदय, गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जीने वाले लोगों की संख्या को अगर कम करना है या आधा भी करना है तो निश्चित रूप से इसे यहां तक ले जाना होगा। इससे सरकार का दृष्टिकोण सामने आता है और यह बात सामने आती है कि उनका संकल्प क्या है। इन शब्दों से यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि सरकार आगे बढ़ने के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प है। इसलिए जब दसवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का लक्ष्य हमारे सामने हैं तो दसवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने उसके डाक्यूमेंटस को, उसके डैक्लरेशन को, उसकी सब बातों को स्वीकार करते हुए इस वृद्धि दर को किस प्रकार से अचीव किया जाए, इन सब बातों का ध्यान रखा गया है। महोदय, कृषि की भरपूर पैदावार हुई है। आज ही उस पर चर्चा हुई है लेकिन सिर्फ पैदावार ही पर्याप्त नहीं है। उसके साथ-साथ किसानों को समुचित लाभ मिल सके, उनको सही मूल्य मिल सके, यह भी जरूरी है। इसलिए हमें यह व्यवस्था करनी होगी कि मंडियों से अनाज खरीदा जा सके और उनको उचित समर्थन मूल्य मिल सके, खरीदी के केन्द्र खुल सकें और उनको उनकी पैदावार का उचित मूल्य मिल सके। यह व्यवस्था की भी गयी है लेकिन इसमें राज्यों के योगदान की आवश्यकता होती है। सरकार समर्थन मूल्य घोषित करती है, आर्थिक मदद कर सकती है लेकिन इस सबमें अनेक जगह राज्यों की कुछ कठिनाइयों के कारण –राज्य सरकारों को जो समुचित कदम उठाने चाहिए, सैंटर्स खोलने चाहिए – वह नहीं कर पाती। इसलिए इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि जब खरीफ की फसल का समय आता है या रबी की फसल का समय आता है और जब हम खरीदी मूल्य, समर्थन मूल्य घोषित करते हैं, उस समय समस्त खाद्य मंत्रियों के साथ बैठक होनी चाहिए ताकि समय पर सैंटर्स खुल सकें और किसानों को उसका लाभ मिल सके अन्यथा बिचौलिए उसका लाभ उठाते हैं। अतः इन कमियों को दूर करने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए। महोदय, एक बात और जरूर कहना चाहता हूं और वह बात हमें ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए कि हमारा उत्पादन तो बढ़ा है। किसान मेहनत कर रहा है, अधिक अन्न पैदा कर रहा है लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी विभिन्न अंचलों से कई प्रकार की शिकायतें आती हैं कि किसानों को आत्महत्या करने के लिए विवश होना पड़ रहा है। यह जो परिस्थितियां निर्मित होती हैं, वह अधिक उत्पादन के बाद जो समुचित व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, उसमें कहीं कुछ कमी की वजह से, किसी गैप की वजह से उत्पन्न होती हैं। इस संबंध में हमें दो बातों की ओर ध्यान देना होगा। एक तो कृषि पर आने वाले खर्च को, उस पर आने वाली लागत को हम कैसे कम कर सकें, प्रॉफिटेबल ऐग्रीकल्चर कैसे हो, इस पर ध्यान देना होगा। इसके दो तरीके हैं। एक तो कृषि पर जो लागत आ रही है, उसे कैसे कम किया जाए और दूसरा किसान अपने उत्पादित माल को बेचने के बाद कुछ लाभ प्राप्त कर सकें ताकि कृषि लाभ का धंधा बन सके। जब तक कृषि लाभ का धंधा नहीं बनेगी तो धीरे-धीरे लोग उससे विमुख होकर शहरों की ओर पलायन करेंगे। यह परिस्थिति अनेक स्थानों पर बन रही हैं। इसके उपाय हमें सोचने होंगे। जैसे अनेक यूरोपीय देशों में डायरैक्ट सबिसडी दी जाती है, उस प्रकार की डायरैक्ट सब्सिडी के बारे में हमें विचार करना होगा। अभी हम फर्टीलाइजर कम्पनीज को सब्सिडी देते हैं। कम्पनीज कागजों पर झूठा प्रोडक्शन दिखाती हैं और सब्सीडी ले लेती हैं लेकिन उसका सीधा फायदा किसान को नहीं हो पाता है। हम सीधे किसान को सब्सिडी दे सकते हैं। इस संबंध में हमें विचार करना होगा। दूसरा जो हमारी ब्याज की दर है, उसको कम करने के बारे में कदम उठाने होंगे। आज स्थिति यह है कि रिजर्व बैंक चार परसेंट ब्याज पर नाबार्ड को कृषि ऋण के लिए पैसा देता है। नाबार्ड स्टेट एपेक्स बैंक को अपनी तरफ से 2 परसेंट सर्विस चार्ज लगा कर देता है। स्टेट एपेक्स बैंक डिस्टिक्ट कोऑपरेटिव बैंक को 2 परसेंट सर्विस चार्ज लगा कर देता है। फिर डिस्ट्रिक्ट कोऑपरेटिव बैंक प्राइमरी सोसाइटी को देता है और

प्राइमरी सोसायटी फिर किसान को और उस कर्ज को वितरित करती है। आप देखें कि रिजर्व बैंक से नाबार्ड, नाबार्ड से एपेक्स बैंक, एपेक्स बैंक से डिस्ट्रिक्ट कोऑपरेटिव बैंक, डिस्ट्रिक्ट कोऑपरेटिव बैंक से प्राइमरी सोसायटी और प्राइमरी सोसायटी से फिर वास्तव में जो किसान है, वे जब खेती के लिए कर्ज लेते हैं, तो इस सब में एक-एक, डेढ-डेढ परसेंट बढ़ते-बढ़ते उसको साढ़े बारह, तेरह परसेंट और फिर चक्रवर्दि ब्याज पर अठारह से बाईस परसेंट तक ब्याज चुकाना पड़ता है । अब यह जो ब्याज का चक्र है, जितना हम उसको समर्थन मूल्य देते हैं, तो ब्याज के चक्र में उसकी सारी कमाई चली जाती है इसलिए हम ब्याज रेट को कम करने के लिए क्या इन स्टेजेस को कम कर सकते हैं? सीधे रिजर्व बैंक से एपेक्स बैंक को, एपेक्स बैंक से प्राइमरी सोसायटी को और वहां से सीधे किसान को मिल जाए तो हम कम से कम तीन, चार या पांच परसेंट की बचत कर सकते हैं और यह पांच परसेंट की बचत ही किसान का वास्तविक लाभ होगा। वही उसका सीधे-सीधे प्रॉफिट हो जाएगा। इस दृष्टि से जरूर हमको विचार करना चाहिए।

महोदय, इसके अलावा भी किसानों के हित में और बाकी लोगों के हित में अनेक कदम इस सरकार ने उठाए हैं। पेज 8 पर 21वीं मद में इसका उल्लेख किया गया है, । इसमें आवश्यक वस्तु अधिनियम में संशोधन किया गया है । कुछ स्टेटस ने कुछ ऐसे नियम बना रखे हैं कि 50 क्विंटल से ज्यादा या 100 क्विंटल से ज्यादा या इतने से ज्यादा अनाज नहीं रख सकते । हम जानते हैं कि उसके कारण वह समय पर मंडियों में नहीं जा पाता है और उसको वह सस्ता बेचने पर मजबूर होना पड़ता है। इसलिए आवश्यक वस्तु अधिनियम में सशोधन के लिए, एसेंशियल कमोडिटीज ऐक्ट में जो भी अमेंडमेंट करने हैं, उसका सीधा लाभ नीचे के किसान को मिले, इस बात का ध्यान रखना है।

फिर चीनी मिलों को जिस प्रकार से पाचं परसेंट तक उसमें ऐथनॉल मिलोन की अनुमति दी गई है, निश्चित रूप से इसका सीधा लाभ किसानों को मिलेगा क्योंकि गन्ने के मूल्य बढ़ेंगे और उसका लाभ गन्ना उत्पादक किसान को मिलने वाला है। चीनी मिलों आदि के बारे में भी जिस प्रकार से रिस्ट्रिक्शन्स हटाने की बात हुई है, उससे ज्यादा से ज्यादा इस क्षेत्र में क्योंकि गन्ना उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में आज हम काफी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, स्वाभाविक रूप से इसका लाभ किसानों को मिलेगा। गरीबी रेखा के नीचे के लोगों के लिए अनाज 20 किलों से बढ़ाकर 25 किलो जो किया गया है और दो रूपए किलो देने की जो व्यवस्था की गई है, यस निश्चित रूप से गरीबों के लिए, खास तौर से गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले जो लोग हैं, उनके लिए बहुत अच्छा कदम शासन के द्वारा उठाया गया है। जैसा कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने भी यह सवाल उठाया था और मैंने एक बार डिसकशन में भी यह सवाल उठाया था कि स्टेट्स अपना जो ऐलॉटेड कोटा है, उसको नहीं उठा पाते हैं। यदि राज्य शासन अपना कोटा नहीं उठाएंगे तो उसका लाभ सीधे उपभोक्ता को नहीं मिल पाएगा। गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जीने वाले लोगों को जो केन्द्रीय शासन की तरफ से सस्ता अनाज देने की योजना है, उसका लाभ उनको नहीं मिल पाता है। इसलिए इस दिशा में राज्य सरकारों को और अधिक कड़ाई से निर्देश दें ताकि उनका जो एलॉटमेंट है, उस एलोटंमेंट को वे उठा सकें।

अभी आदरणीय माननीय सदस्य बात कर रहे थे दोहा की कान्फ्रेंस की। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दोहा से पहले हम उरूग्वे गए थे और पहली बार WTO के सदस्य बने थे। आदरणीय प्रणब मुखर्जी उस समय मंत्री थे , इन्होंने सबसे पहले उस पर हस्ताक्षर किए थे। हम अच्छे उद्देश्य के साथ, यह उद्देश्य लेकर, यह भावना लेकर गए थे कि हम उससे विश्व व्यापार में भागीदारी कर सकेंगे, प्रतिस्पर्धा कर सकेंगे। हमारे यहां के उद्योगों को भी शायद एक्सपोर्ट करने

में मदद मिन पाएगी, ऐसे अच्छे उद्देश्य के साथ हम WTOके सदस्य बने थे। लेकिन उरूग्वे में हम कुछ प्राप्त नहीं कर पाए। उरूग्वे राउंड की चर्चाएं हुई थीं और उस समय इसका मैम्बर बनते समय भी विश्व व्यापार में हमारा अंशदान 0.7 परसेंट से भी कम था। वर्ल्ड ट्रेड में हम बहुत कम काम कर पाते हैं इसलिए इसको बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है, इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर हम इसके सदस्य बने थे। उस समय तक इसके 142 सदस्य थे और आज चीन भी इसमें प्रवेश कर गया है। चीन के प्रवेश के बाद हमारे लिए और प्रतिस्पर्धा है, हमारे लिए और चुनौतियां हैं और हमको इस पर विचार करना पड़ेगा। विकासशील देशों को साथ लेकर, एशिया के सारे देशों को मिलाकर यदि हम कोई रणनीति तैयार करेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से जिस प्रकार से यूरोपीय देशों ने और अन्य देशों ने WTO पर अपनी दादागिरी थोप रखी है, जिस प्रकार **से आप्ना वच्स्र्व कोप रखा आई आपनी शर्ते कोप रखि है उनसे ह्म निजात पा सकेगे हमारे** जो राष्ट्रीय हित हैं उनका भी संरक्षण कर सकेंगे, विकासशील देशों को भी लाभ दिला पांएगे। इस दृष्टि से मैं कहूंगा कि उरूग्वे में यद्यपि हमारे हाथ में कुछ नहीं आया था लेकिन दोहा की मिनिस्टीरियल कांफ्रें से में पहली बार हमने दृढ़ता का रूख अपनाया और हम अपने राष्ट्रीय हितों का सरंक्षण करने में सफल हुए। इसके लिए मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा कि उरूग्वे में हम जो कुछ खोकर आए थे वह हमने दोहा में प्राप्त करने की कोशिश की। मुझे याद है कि दोहा के पहले यू.एन.ओ. में माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा था, यद्यपि वह दूसरे संदर्भ में कहा गया था, लेकिन उन्होंने इसका उल्लेख करते हुए कहा था कि In the Uruguay Round, we were given a cheque that bounced. But now, we will not be prepared for receiving a postdated cheque." हम इस बात के लिए कभी सहमत नहीं होंगे। यह एक प्रकार से संकेत था दृढ़ता का, हमारी नीतियों का कि अगली बार हम उरूग्वे जैसे नहीं ठगे जाएंगे। जब भी अवसर आएगा तो हम निश्चित रूप से अपने राष्ट्रीय हितो का सरंक्षण करने में सफल होंगे। जब मारन साहब **दोहा गए तो यह आधार्भुत द्रस्टी कोण उनके साथ कि यह भारत सरकार नीति का एक सीधा** दिग्दर्शन था। उसी को लेकर उन्होंने वहां पर ये सब बातें कीं। उरूग्वे के जो प्रावधान थे, उन प्रावधानों की वेस्टर्न कंट्रीज ने न केवल गलत व्याख्याएं की, बल्कि उन घोषणाओं का दुरूपयोग भी किया और इसीलिए उरूग्वे राउंड जिसको कहा जाता था, उसमें हम कुछ प्राप्त नहीं कर पाए थे, उसके इंटरप्रेटेशन्स गलत हुए, हम पर कुछ ऐसी शर्ते बांध दी गई थीं जिसका यूरोपीय कंट्रीज ने दुरूपयोग किया और हम जो कुछ प्राप्त करना चाहते थे, जिस उद्देश्य से हम WTO के मैंम्बर बने थे उसमें उतना लाभ नहीं उठा पाए। लेकिन इस बार यहां पर वर्क प्रोग्राम का उल्लेख किया गया । यह भागीदारी नहीं कर पाए, उतना पहली बार हुआ कि दोहा डिक्लेरेशन के अंदर वर्क प्रोग्रोम एक शीर्षक रखा गया । शीर्षक के अंतर्गत हम दोहा के डिक्लेरेशन के पैरा 12 को देखेंगे तो उसमें पढ़ेंगे कि "The issue is "The Implementation-Related Issues and Concerns". जो भी इश्यूज उठाए जाएंगे उनका सीधा-सीधा इम्प्लिमेंटेशन कब तक होगा, किस प्रकार से होगा एक प्रकार का एक वर्क प्रोग्राम पूरा प्रेसक्राइब किया गया, स्पष्ट किया गया है, रेखांकित किया गया और उसी के आधार पर बाकी सब बातें हुई। कुछ मुद्दे हमने भी प्रस्तुत किए। जो मुद्दे हमारे द्वारा उठाए गए उनमें से कुछ के बारे में वहां चर्चा हुई, कुछ नेगोसिएशन्स के लिए भेजे गए, कुछ पर बाद में चर्चा होना तय हुआ। जो मुद्दे नेगोसिएशन के लिए भेजे गए "The Trade Negotiations Committee would decide them and further action would be taken by the end of 2002." यह उसमें मेंशन करवाया । इस प्रकार से यह पहली बार हुआ, अदरवाइज उरूग्वे राउंड की डिक्लेरेशन देखें तो उसमें हमने खोया ही खोया है। हम पर शर्ते थोपी गई थी लेकिन इस बार दोहा में हम इतनी स्पष्ट बातें अपने पक्ष में करवाने में समर्थ रहे। इसमें वकें प्रोग्राम, नेगोसिएशन कमेटी, जो इश्यू रेज किए हैं, डिसीजन कब तक हो जाएगा

ये सारी बातें थी। यह बात एक प्रकार से हमारे पक्ष की स्वीकारिता थी उसको एकनॉलेज करती थी। पहली बार हमारे प्रश्नों का सामाधान हुआ। इससे भवष्यि के लिए एक प्रकार का रास्ता खुला और इसलिए बार-बार कहा गया है कि दोहा में यह हमारे पक्ष की विक्ट्री थी और हम पहली बार अपनी बात को सार्थकता के साथ अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मंच पर स्वीकार करवारक आए हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, टैक्सटाइल के बारे में बात हुई इसके बारे में बहुत चर्चा होती है...(**व्यवधान**)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नीलोत्पल बसु) : वर्मा जी, मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि आपके अभी दो साथी और हैं।

श्री विक्रम वर्मा : मैं बस दो-तीन मिनट में सामप्त कर रहा हूं। मुख्य रूप से टैक्सटाइल का हमारा एक्सपोर्ट का बिजनेस बहुत हैं, इसमें काफी इजाफा है। इसीलिए इसके बारे में बार-बार चिंता की जाती थी कि हमारे गारमेंट, टैक्सटाइल के मामले में जिस प्रकार से हमारे साथ व्यवहार हो रहा है, उससे कहीं हम ठगे न रह जाएं। पांच इश्यू वहां टैक्सटाइल के संबंध में उठाए गए। हमारे द्वारा उठाए गए पांच में से तीन मुद्दे वहां स्वीकार कर लिए गए, दो मुद्दों पर सहमति नहीं बनी लेकिन कैंसिल नहीं किये गए, अस्वीकृति नहीं दी, रिजेक्ट नहीं किए गए। कौंसिल फोर ट्रेड में इन गुडस के विचारार्थ दो मुद्दे भेजे जाएंगे, यह तय हुआ। एक प्रकार **से रैक्साईळ मामले मे हमने इस्युज ठटःए उस्के कुछ कोट तथा ऊया है इस प्रकार** हम देखते हैं कि पहली बार यहां चाहे इम्प्लिमेंटेशन हो या ज्योगराफिकल इंडीकेशन्स हो, दोनों ही मामलों में हमारा पक्ष मजबूत रहा। मैं भारत सरकार के मंत्री माननीय मुरासोली मारन जीख्जो वहां गए थे, उन्होंने इस पक्ष को वहां पर इतनी अच्छी तरह से रखा, इसके लिए मैं भारत शासन को धन्यवाद देता हूं, उसकी प्रशंसा करता हूं ।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) पीठासीन हुए।]

इसके अलावा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक दो बातों की तरफ ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा जिसकी तरफ हमने इसके पहले कभी चिन्ता नहीं की थी। आज आप देखें चाहे वह राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग हो, चाहे स्वर्णिम चतुष्कोणी चौमार्गी रास्ता हो, प्रधानमंत्री ग्रामीण सड़क का मामला हो, नेशनल हाईवेज हों, इन पिछले दो साल के फिगर्ज और अलाटमेंट आप देखें, बजट के प्रावधान देखें, न केवल यह कि सन् 2007 तक एक हजार की आबादी के हर एक ग्राम को सड़क से जोड़ेगे, यह केवल घोषण मात्र नहीं है इसके लिए न केवल बजट एलाकेशन किये गये हैं, राज्यों को आबंटन दिया गया है, बल्कि इसके साथ निर्माण की दिशा में भी काम हुआ है। आप देखें 1800 किलोमीटर मार्ग चौड़ा किया जा चुका है। एक वर्ष पहले 2003 तक जो हमारा टॉरबेट फिक्स किया गया था, उसको एक साल पहले प्राप्त करने जा रहे हैं। इससे बड़ी उपलब्धि क्या होगी? यह इतना बड़ा काम जो पिछले 40-45 वर्ष पहले हाथ में लिया जाना चाहिये था न **जाने** किन कारणों से नहीं लिया गया लेकिन इस सरकार ने संकल्प पारित किया, तय किया, न केवल तय किया उसके लिए व्यवस्थाएं की और समयावधि के पहले उसको पूरा कर के दिखाया। उसके कारण हमारी फिजिकल कनेक्टीविटी बढ़ेगी, भौतिक दृष्टि से हम पास आएंगे। सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि आवागमन से ले कर ट्रेड बिजनेस में इससे काफी लाभ मिलेगा। प्रधानमंत्री ग्रामीण सड़क योजना में आज प्रत्येक गावं के अन्दर, एक हजार तक की आबादी का गांव, ग्रामीण सड़क योजना में आने वाला प्रत्येक गांव सन् 2007 तक मुख्य सड़क बारहमासी सड़कों से जुड़ेगा। यह एक बहुत बड़ा एचीवमेंट होने जा रहा है। इतने सालों में गांव का आदमी अपने आप को ठगा हुआ महसूस करता था, हम हर बार जब जाते थे तो कहता था कि हम तो चलने की स्थिति तक में नहीं हैं आज उसको इस बात का संतोष है कि इस सरकार के नेतृत्व में

आने वाले दो तीन सालों में, पांच सालों में, प्रत्येक गांव सड़क से जुड जाएंगा। कई जगह काम शुरू हो चुका है। आज इतनी बड़ी सुविधा, इतना बड़ा लाभ ग्रामीण अंचल तक पहुंचेगा जिससे गांव के अन्दर एक प्रकार से क्रान्ति और परिवर्तन आने वाला है। इन सारे मुद्दों के आधार पर हम देखें तो हम पायेंगे कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से जिन परिस्थितियों में इस सरकार ने अपना काम-काज सम्भाला था, उसके हिसाब से वह आज सुदृढ़ स्थिति में हैं। एक पटरी पर अर्थ व्यवस्था को लाया गया है। इस के आने वाले समय में परिणाम अच्छे होंगे क्योंकि एक दिन में अर्थ व्यवस्था का परिणाम नहीं आता है, लम्बा समय लगता है। लेकिन जिस दिशा में और दृढ़ता से सरकार काम कर रही है निश्चित रूप से उसके अच्छे परिणाम आंएगे। विकास की दृष्टि से जो प्रावधान किये गये हैं वह भी एक प्रकार की खुशहाली और समृद्धि की ओर ले जाएगा। इसलिए इन शब्दों के साथ मैं धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव की समर्थन करता हूं। बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मीणा जी, आपके और चार साथी बोलने वाले हैं।

श्री मूलचन्द मीणा (राजस्थान) **:** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी का सम्मान करता हूं। लेकिन सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति जी के माध्यम से सरकार के साल भर के कार्यकलापों की जो व्याख्या कराई है, उसके धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के लिए इस सदन के सदस्य डा. महेश चन्द्र शर्मा जी ने प्रस्ताव पेश किया है, पंडा जी ने उसका समर्थन किया, मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूं। विरोध इसलिए करता हूं कि पिछले साल सरकार ने अपनी उपब्धियों को तोड़-मरोड़ कर राष्ट्रपति जी के माध्यम से प्रकट किया है। सरकार ने पिछले साल लोगों के दुख-दर्द कम करने के बजाय उनके दुख-दर्द को बढ़ाया है। इस अभिभाषण में आतंकवाद से अपनी बात राष्ट्रपति जी ने प्रारम्भ की है। सरकार आतंकवाद के प्रति कितनी सजग है, कितनी जागरूक हैं, यह तो इस बात से पता लग जाता है कि हमारे लोकतंत्र के पवित्र मन्दिर के ऊपर हमला हो जाए, देश के प्रधानमंत्री जी आर-पार की बात करें, उस आर-पार का क्या हुआ, उसका जिक्र इसके अन्दर नहीं है। यहां के विदेश मंत्री जी आतंकवादियों को स्वागत के साथ ले जाएं और छोड़ कर आ जाएं, इसकी चर्चा इसके अन्दर नहीं है। राष्ट्रपति जी के माध्यम से सरकार ने अपनी जो कमजोरियां हैं। जो अपने क्रियाकलापों के कारण लोगों के दुखदर्द बढ़े हैं उसको छिपाने की कोशिश की है। इसलिए यह सारा अभिभाषण मिथ्या है, गलत हैं। सही बात लोगों के सामने, देश के सामने सरकार ने प्रकट नहीं की है। इसलिए मैंने इसका विरोध करने की बात कही।

संसद के ऊपर हमला हुआ और हम एक ऐसे देश के पिछलग्गू बनकर चल रहे हैं जो आतंकवाद के प्रति दो तरह की नीतियां रखता है। 11 सितम्बर को अमेरिका के अंदर हमला हो तो उसके प्रति आंतकवाद का उसका दृष्टिकोण दूसरा होता है। आतंकवादी अफगानिस्तान में रह रहे थे, उनके ऊपर हमला किया, उनके शासन को समाप्त किया। लेकिन 13 दिसम्बर को जब हिंदुस्तान की ससंद पर हमला हुआ तो उनका दृष्टिकोण दूसरा हो जाता है। हम कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजों के शासप में और अमेरिका के इस दृष्टिकोण में क्या फर्क है। हिंदुस्तान में जब हम अंग्रेजों के गुलाम थे, उस समय अंग्रेजों का दो तरह का कानून रहता था – अंग्रेजों के प्रति एक कानून लागू होता था और इंडियन्स के ऊपर दूसरा होता था उसी तरीके से आज हमारी सरकार अमेरिका की पिछलग्गू बनती जा रही है । यह समझ में नही आता है। इस देश के लिए श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने एक दृष्टिकोण दिया था। अमेरिका जैसे देश की भी कई बार चैलेंज किया। आज हम उस सम्मान और अपने स्वाभिमान को भूलते जा रहे हैं। बल्कि हम अमेरिका की जी-हजूरी करते जा रहे हैं, अमेरिका के पिछलग्गू बनते जा रहे हैं। अमेरिका पर हमला हो, अफगानिस्तान पर हमला करने की बात हो, अमेरिका हमसे पूछे ही नहीं, हमसे मांगे ही नहीं और हम जबर्दस्ती

कहते हैं कि हमारे हवाई अड्डों को काम में लीजिए। हमारे पड़ोस से जो आतंकवाद फैलाया जाता है, उस देश के दृष्टिकोण और हमारे दृष्टिकोण, दोनों के प्रति जो भावना अमेरिका कीह है, उसको हमको देखना पड़ेगा। हमारे साथ इस दुनिया के अंदर काम खड़ा है? अमेरिका का दृष्टिकोण – हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में – प्राथमिकता पाकिस्तान को देता है। लेकिन भारत सरकार में बैठे हुए लोग यह भूल जाते हैं, हमारे देश के लोग भूल जाते हैं। फिर भी समझ में नहीं आता है क्यों अमेरिका के इतने पिछलग्गू बने हैं। इस देश के सम्मान को क्यों बेचना चाहते हैं? क्यों इस देश के सम्मान को गिरवी रखना चाहते हैं? इस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण से यह प्रकट होता है।

साथ ही इस अभिभाषण के अंदर रक्षा सौंदों में पारदर्शिता की बात कही गयी है। अचम्भा होता है । रक्षा सौंदों के अंदर तहलका डाट काम ने क्या किया था? कैसे रक्षा सौदे इस देश में हो रहे हैं? रक्षा मंत्री के घर में क्या क्या हो रहा है, और सरकार इस अभिभाषण के अदंर पारदर्शिता की बात करती है। पादर्शिता किधर है? तहलका डाट काम ने नंगा कर दिया, उजागर कर दिया कि देश के रक्षा मंत्री के यहा क्या क्या होता है। कैसे रक्षा सौदों में कमीशन और रिश्वत दी जाती है, यह पर्दे पर दिखा दिया। उसके बाद भी पारदर्शिता? किधर रह गयी पारदर्शिता? कौन सी पारदर्शिता की बात हम कर रहे हैं? यह एक अजीब पारदर्शिता है। देश के रक्षा मंत्री जी अपने आपको ईमानदार समझते हुए इस्तीफा दे गए – जांच के लिए एक आयोग बन गया – कि आयोग की रिपोर्ट आ जाएगी, जब बिल्कुल पाक, दूध से धुला हुआ घोषित कर देंगे तभी मैं दुबारा इस पद पर आऊंगा। लेकिन वह पारदर्शिता कहां गयी? आयोग की रिपोर्ट आई नहीं और रक्षा मंत्री जी वापस आ गए। देश में भ्रष्टाचार की क्या बात करें। आज देश के अंदर भ्रष्टाचार इस तरीके से है कि हम जब छोटे कर्मचारी और अधिकारी से भ्रष्टाचार की बात करते हैं तो कहते हैं ससंद में बैठे हुए देश के रक्षा मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री के घर में भ्रष्टाचार होगा तो हमें क्यों रोक रहे हैं, हमें क्यों टोकते हैं। आम आदमी यह कहने लग जाता है। आम आदमी के सामने यह प्रश्न पैदा कर दिया है। देश के अंदर जो नेता हैं, जो राजनीतिक दलों के नेता हैं उनके सम्मान को कम कर दिया है, उनकी इज्जत को कम कर दिया है, इनके स्वाभिमान को गिरा दिया है। बल्कि एक गलत दृष्टिकोण लोगों का नेताओं के प्रति हो गया है कि नेता ज्यादा भ्रष्ट होते हैं। दृष्टिकोण खराब कर दिया है। फिर भी हम शान और शौकत से देश के अंदर बातें करें, देश की रक्षा की बात करें, देश के सम्मान और पारदर्शिता की बात करें? जो रक्षा सौदे होते हैं उनमें पारदर्शिता देखेंगे, तो कहां पारदर्शिता है? कहां देखी जाएगी ऐसे लोगों से? इस अभिभाषण में सांप्रदायिक सौहार्द बनाए रखना और अपने संविधान के पथ निरपेक्ष सिद्धांतों का पालन करना हमारे राष्ट्र की विशेषताओं का मूल आधार है, सरकार ने यह भी कहा है कि 2001 में सांप्रदायिक हिंसा की घटनाओं का प्रतिशत कम ही हुआ है। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के 24 घंटे के बाद ही इस देश के अंदर सांप्रदायिक झगड़ों को नृत्य और प्रदर्शन जो देखने को मिला उससे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के पढ़ने के वक्त कोई भी यह नहीं कहेगा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने उस बात को सही कहा है। हमने गुजरात में किस प्रकार के सांप्रदायिक दंगे होते देखे? वैसी कई घटनाएं तो आजादी के समय, 1947 में जब देश आजाद हुआ तभी देखने या सुनने को मिली। गुजरात में ऐसी घटनाएं हुई कि लोगों को घरों में सोते हुए परिवरजनों सहित जला दिया गया, जिनको कुछ पता नहीं था। वे घर के अदंर सो रहे थे । यहां तक कि इस सदन का सदस्य होते हुए भी, लोक सभा और राज्य सभा को मैंबर होते हुए भी, जिस व्यक्ति ने 6 घंटे तक पुलिस की इमदाद मांगी और टेलीफोन करता रहा लेकिन उसकी कोई सुनने या रक्षा करने वाला नहीं था और उसको परिवार सहित जला दिया गया। इस प्रकार के सांप्रदायिक दंगे कभी देखने या सुनने को नहीं मिले होंगे कि ट्रेन में लोग जा रहे हों, उन्हें जला दिया जाए, निर्दोष महिलाओं और बच्चों को जला दिया

जाए। उस समय सरकार कहां थी, सरकार का दृष्टिकोण क्या था, सरकार की सुरक्षा व्यवस्था क्या थी, सरकार की इंटेलीजेंसी कहां थी? राज्य के अंदर राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री हों और सेना बुला ली जाए, पूरे प्रांत में सांप्रदायिक दंगों की आग में लोग जल रहे हों, उसके बाद सेना को चौबीस घंटे तक बैठाए रखा जाए, काम में नहीं लिया जाए तो यह कैसा दृष्टिकोण है? क्यों चौबीस घंटे तक सेना को रोका गया? इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आने वाला कल, मुझे नही लगता कि ठीक से गुजर पाएगा क्योंकि सरकार की जिस तरह की भावना है, जिस प्रकार की मंशा है, सरकार कहती कुछ है और करती कुछ है। अयोध्या के मसले पर सरकार एक बात कहती आ रही है कि या तो दोनों पक्ष आपस में बैठ जाएं और समझौता कर लें या फिर न्यायालय इसका फैसला कर दे। क्योंकि सरकार में बैठे हुए उसके जो सपोर्टर हैं, उसके जो एलाइज हैं, कैसे उनको राजी कर लिया जाता है कि हम किसी प्रकार की सांप्रदायिक भावना नहीं रखते हैं? लेकिन सरकार की असली मंशा , कल कोर्ट में अटॉर्नी जनरल की बात से सामने आ गई, उनके दिल के अंदर का जो पाप है, जो भावना है,ख्‌ वह सामने आ गई । देश के प्रधान मंत्री जी बार-बार कहते रहे लेकिन सरकार के ऐसे रूख की कोई उम्मीद नहीं करता। संसद में कई बार प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है और यह संसद का अपनमान है। प्रधान मंत्री जी के शब्दों के ऊपर लोग विश्वास नहीं करेंगे। कल अटॉर्नी जनरल ने जो कहा उसके बाद देश के लोगों को विश्वास नहीं रहा, देश की जनता को विश्वास नहीं रहा कि सरकार कहती कुछ है और करती कुछ है। इसलिए मैं ईश्वर से दुआ मांगता हूं कि कल का दिन बड़ी शांति से निकल जाए, सरकार के जो पाप हैं, अंदर का पाप अंदर ही रह जाए। वे बाहर प्रकट न हों और लोग सुरक्षित रह सकें जिस से कि वे अपने बाल-बच्चों और अपनी मां-बहनों को सुरक्षित रख सकें। गुजरात जैसे दंगे इस देश में दोबारा न हो जाएं, इसलिए मैं भगवान से दुआ करता हूं कि वह इस देश की रक्षा करे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : अब आप समाप्त कर रहे हैं?

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : महोदय, अभी तो स्टार्ट किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप के पांच साथी और हैं।

श्री मूल चन्द मीण : महोदय, यहां किसानों की बात की जा रही थी। अभी वर्मा जी किसान की बात कर रहे थे। मुझे अचम्भा होता है कि यह सरकार जब से बनी है तब से वह हाथ धोकर किसान के पीछे पड़ गयी है। मुझे याद है 1996 तक देश के अंदर कांग्रेस का शासन था। उस समय किसान को डीजल की आवश्यकता पड़ती थी और वह साढ़े सात रूपए लीटर था। फिर अभी तीन साल पहले 1999 में यह गवर्नमेंट आ गयी और डीजल का भाव इस सरकार ने 18 रूपए लीटर कर दिया। पेट्रोल का भाव भी इस प्रकार से बढ़ता गया। जोकि उस समय साढ़े 11 रूपए था, अब 27 रूपए लीटर हो गया है। महोदय, इस देश में किसान सस्ती चीजों की व्यवस्था इंदिरां जी ने की थी। वह जानती थी कि इस देश का किसान गरीब किसान है, इसलिए उन्होंने किसान को सस्ते खाद के लिए सबसिडी की व्यवस्था की थी, लेकिन वह भी इस सरकार ने खत्म कर दी। महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने किसान को बधाई दी है कि उस ने उत्पादन बहुत किया है। इस में कोई दो राय नहीं हैं । पिछले साल अनाज का उत्पादन 196 मिलियन टन था, वह इस साल 210 मिलियन टन होने की संभावना है। यह सच है कि अनाज का उत्पादन बढ़ाने में वह पीछे नहीं रहा है, लेकिन उस को मिला क्या है। इस सरकार का दुख-दर्द बांटने के बाद भी किसान ने मेहनत कर के खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन बढ़ाया, लेकिन इस सरकार के अंदर तो दया नाम की चीज रही ही नहीं है। सरकार ने उस किसान के साथ धोखा-धड़ी की है। सरकार ने उस का खून चूसने का काम किया है। महोदय, मुझे याद है, 1999 के चुनाव में जयपुर के अंदर अटल

बिहारी जी भाषण कर रहे थे कि किसान का हित करेंगे, किसान की पैदावार का मूल्य बढ़ाएंगे और किसान को सस्ता खाद व पानी देंगे। अब उन्होंने उसे सस्ता खाद, पानी तो नहीं दिलाया उल्टे डीजल का भाव बढ़ाकर उस का दुख-दर्द ही बढ़ाया है। महोदय, मैं 1996 का उदाहरण देना चाहूंगा जब रुपए कि किसान के गेंहूं का दाम 800 रूपए क्विंटल था और सरसों का 2500 क्विंटल था , लेकिन आज गेंहू का मूल्य घट कर 400 रूपए क्विंटल रह गया है और सरसों का मूल्य 1100 रूपए क्विंटल रह गया है। आप देखें किसान को कितना घाटा हो रहा है। आज जब कि उस के लिए खाद और डीजल दोनों महंगे करने के बाद भी सरकार सारा खर्चा किसान के ऊपर डालना चाहती है। महोदय इस तरह, वह किसान का दुख-दर्द बढ़ाना चाहती हैं?

श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मीणा जी, किसान के लिए गेंहू का दाम 610 रूपए है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (**श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी**) : मीणा, जी अपना अनुभव बता रहे हैं।

श्री कलराज मिश्र : महोदय, उन्हें सही बात बतानी चाहिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : मिश्र जी, मैं सरकार के मूल्य की बात नहीं कर रहा हूं, मंडी में जिस भाव में बिक रहा है, उस की बात कर रहा हूं। मंडी में तो 400 रूपए क्विंटल बिक रहा है। महोदय, तो इस अभिभाषण में जहां किसान की बड़ाई की गयी है, उस के लिए धन्यवाद की बात कही गयी तो तो किसान कें दुख-दर्द की बात भी तो सुन लें। महोदय, किसानों ने कभी आत्म-दाह नहीं किया, लेकिन इस सरकार के आने के बाद करोड़ों किसानों ने कई प्रांतों के अदंर आत्म-दाह किया है। उसको अपनी उपज का मूल्य नहीं मिला। इसके लिए दोषी कौन है? खेती का काम करने वाले किसान को आपने बरबाद कर दिया, यह सही बात है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संजय निरूपम (महाराष्ट्र) : मीणा जी, आपको मालूम होगा,हमने कपास का जो मूल्य निर्धारित किया था उसे कांग्रेस राज ने महाराष्ट्र में किसानों को नहीं दिया। आप क्या बात करते हैं? ऐसा तो मत बोलो। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : किसान को समर्थन मूल्य देने की बात है और यह समर्थन मूल्य देने की घोषणा कब होती है? समर्थन मूल्य की घोषणा तो पैदावार आने से पहले होनी चाहिए, लेकिन होती है जब किसान के हाथ से पैदावार निकल जाती है और व्यापारी के पास पहुंच जाती है। व्यापारी से खरीददारी करके आप किसान का नाम लेते हैं। इससे सरकार का दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट होता है, जो किसान विरोधी लगता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली के अंतर्गत गरीबी रेखा से नीचे के परिवारों को 10 किलो से 25 किलो की बात कही गई है, लेकिन आज सुबह ही यहां पर खाद्य मंत्री जी बता रहे थे कि राज्य सरकारों को जितना अनाज देना चाहते हैं, राज्य सरकारे उतना उठाना नहि चाहती है। राज्य मंत्री जी की यह दात यहां तक सही है लेकिन आप अपने गेंहू, चावल की क्वालिटि को देखिए, कोई उसको लेने वाला ही नहीं है। जब कोई लेने वाला ही नहीं है तो राज्य सरकार उसे क्यों उठाएगी ? जब हम अपने एरिया में जाते हैं तो देखते हैं वहां के स्कूलों मे जो गेंहू भेजा जाता है, चावल भेजा जाता है, उसको स्कूल के बच्चे नहीं लेते हैं, जबकि वह फ्री दिया जाता है। अगर आप सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली के अंदर ऐसी सामग्री देंगे, तो लोग उसे क्यों लेंगे? जो आप कह रहे हैं कि राज्य सरकार उसे ले नहीं रही हैं, लेकिन वहां भी तो राज्य सरकार से ऐसा गेंहूं, चावल कोई लेने वाला ही नहीं है। लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, लेकिन भूखों मरने वाला क्या सड़ा गला अनाज खाएगा? क्या वह ऐसा

अनाज खाकर बीमार हो जाए? आपको उनकी कोई परवाह नहीं है। कई बार इस सरकार से कहा भी गया है कि सरकार उसकी क्वालिटी को ठीक करें। अनाज गोदामों में सड़ रहा हो और समुद्र में उसे फेंका जाए उससे पहले क्यों न उस अनाज को आप फ्री में भूखों मरने वाले लोगों को दे दें?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस अभिभाषण में दूरसंचार सेवाओं के विषय में बड़ी बात की गई है, लेकिन जो माननीय सदस्य गांव से आते होंगे उनको पता होगा कि वहां दूरसंचार व्यवस्था की क्या हालत है। वहां आपके टेलीफोन एक्सचेंज बन गए हैं, लोगों के यहां टेलीफोन लग गए हैं, लेकिन उनसे बात नहीं हो पाती, सरकार उनसे मंथली किराया जरूर ले लेती है। सेलुलर फोन की बात अलग है क्योंकि उसका उपयोग नहीं करता है। आप गांव की दूरसंचार व्यवस्था को ठीक कराइए, टेलीफोन एक्सचेंज को ठीक कराइए ताकि जो आप वहां के आम आदमी से टेलीफोन किराया लेते हैं, वह उसका लाभ तो उठा सके। सरकार ने जो दूरसंचार व्यवस्था की बात इस अभिभाषण के द्वारा कहलाई है, मुझे लगता है कि यह सत्यता को छिपाकर बात कहलाई गई है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के इस अभिभाषण में सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के विनिवेश की बात कही गई है कि जो उपक्रम घाटे में चल रहे हैं उनका निजीकरण कर दिया जाए। सरकार की मंशा साफ है क्योंकि सरकार जानती है कि यह निजीकरण भी कैसे लोगों के हाथों में जाएगा। मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि बालको, जो घाटे में नहीं था उसका विनिवेश क्यों किया गया? वह कोई घाटे में नहीं था। यह बात समझ में नहीं आती क्योंकि एक तरफ तो आप सिंद्धात की बात करते हैं, घाटे की बात करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ लाभ के उपक्रमो को निजि हाथों में देते हैं। यह आपकी कौन सी नीति है ?

डा. अलादी पी. राजकुमार (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : मीणा जी, कोर्ट ने जजमेंट दे दिया। मामला खत्म हो गया।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : इसमें कोर्ट के जजमेंट की बात नहीं है बल्कि इस अभिभाषण में यह आया है कि जो घाटे में चल रहे हैं ऐसे उपक्रमों का विनिवेश किया जाएगा।

डा. अलादी पी राजकुमार : जो किया है, उसको छोड़ दें। कोर्ट का जजमेंट हो गया।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : आप लोगों का यही दृष्टिकोण है कि जो हो रहा है, होने दो। लूट लो, खसोट लो। ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मीणा जी, आपका समय हो रहा है। आप चेयर की ओर देखकर अपनी बात कहें।

डा. अलादी पी. राजकुमार : मीणा जी, कुछ कंस्ट्रक्टिव बात कहें, कुछ कंस्ट्रक्टिव सुझाव दें। ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मीणा जी, आप लगभग आधे घंटे से बोल रहे हैं, कृपया अब समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर हम उद्योग की बात करें तो आज इस देश के अंदर लघु उद्योग और माध्यम उद्योग की क्या हालत हो गई है। आज इस देश में ऐसी परिस्थितियां पैदा हो गई हैं कि लघु उद्योग इस देश में समाप्त होते जा रहे हैं। वह पार्टी, जो आज सत्ता में है और जो राष्ट्रवाद का नारा देती थी, जो राष्ट्रीयता की बात करती थी, वह आज मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनियों की बात करने लगी हैं। दो तरह की बातें कनना अब इस देश के अंदर ज्यादा दिन तक चलने वाला नहीं है। आपकी इन बातों को इस देश की जनता जान गई है और उसी का परिणाम है कि अभी पिछले महीने हुए चार राज्यों के चुनावों में आपको जनता ने नकार दिया है और आपको इसका खामियाजा भुगतना पड़ा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, नेहरू जी ने इस देश के गांवों और कस्बों के विकास के लिए जिन लघु उद्योगों की स्थापना की थी, आपकी नीतियों के कारण वे लघु उद्योग आज समाप्त होने की स्थिति में हैं। मध्यम उद्योग में 90 परसेंट उद्योग चल रहे थे लेकिन आपने बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों को बुला लिया है, उनका मुकाबला हमारे उद्योग कर नहीं सकते, हम उनकी बराबरी नहीं कर सकते जिसके कारण वे बंद होने की कगार पर हैं। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि यदि हमने अपने गांवों के लोगों को रोजगार देना है, गांवो का विकास करना है तो सरकार को हमारे उद्योगों के बारे में, लघु उद्योगों के बारे में अपनी नीति बदलनी पड़ेगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सरकार के जमाने में बेरोजगारी बढ़ी है लेकिन इसके बारे में इस अभिभाषण में वर्णन नहीं है। आज गांव के युवक पढ़-लिखकर, काम करने लायक होकर बेरोजगार होते जा रहे हैं और बेरोजगारी के कारण देश में आतंकवाद और आंतरिक सुरक्षा की समस्या पैदा हो रही है। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि बेरोजगारों को रोजगार देने के लिए क्या सरकार ने 10वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में कोई प्लान बनाया है? इस अभिभाषण में इस बारे में कुछ नहीं लिखा गया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सामाजिक न्याय की बात कही गई है, एस.सी. , एस.टी. और ओ.बी.सी वर्गो के कल्याण की योजनाओं के बारे में कहा गया है, महिलाओं के कल्याण के बारे में कहा गया है, लेकिन मैं अगर महिलाओं के बारे में बात करूं तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि महिलाओं पर अत्याचार बढ़ रहे हैं। इसी तरह से एस.सी., एस.टी., अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग और अन्य पिछड़े वर्गो पर अत्याचार बढ़ रहे हैं। उनकी सुरक्षा के लिए, उनको सामाजिक न्याय दिलाने के लिए, समाज में उनको बराबरी दिलाने के लिए सरकार की कोई योजनाएं नहीं है और अगर कहीं कोई योजना है भी तो उसको लागू करने के बारे में सरकार का दृष्टिकोण ठीक नहीं है। इसीलिए आज एस.सी., एस.टी., दलित वर्ग और महिलाओं पर अत्याचार की घटनाएं दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़ रही हैं। मेरा कहना है कि इस बारे में सरकार को अपना दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट करना चाहिए कि इस देश के गरीबों, एस.सी., एस.टी. और अल्पसंख्यकों की रक्षा के लिए, इनके विकास के लिए, इनको समानता दिलाने के लिए जो कार्यक्रम हैं उनको सुचारू रूप से चलाया जाएगा। अभी तक सरकार का दृष्टिकोण इसी बात पर रहा है कि उनका नाम लेकर काम चलाया जाए। मेरा कहना है कि नाम से काम नहीं चलता बल्कि काम करने से काम चलता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मीणा जी, अब आप समाप्त कीजिए। आपको आधा घंटा हो गया है और आपके और भी कई सहयोगी बोलने वाले हैं। आप बहुत अच्छा बोल रहे हैं लेकिन आपके पांच और सहयोगियों के नाम है, इसलिए अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैंने इस अभिभाषण का इसलिए विरोध किया है क्योंकि सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के माध्यम से मिथ्या रिपोर्ट पेश की है।

मैं इस अभिभाषण का विरोध करता हूं और इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU (Pondicherry): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

In para-22 of the Address, it is mentioned that the food security of the poorest of the poor is the first priority of this Government. India had great success with the Green Revolution and then with the White Revolution. Now, the country is ready for another revolution, that is, agricultural diversification and food processing. Freedom to farmers is one of the main things for this Government. In order to achieve the same, several amendments have been made in the Essential Commodities Act. Now, restrictions on storage movement and selling of agricultural products have been taken away. Now farmers can move their agricultural produce to different places by virtue of the removal of restrictions. By virtue of giving this freedom to farmers, the foodgrains produced by them can reach any place, and anywhere in the country.

Now. coming to para-40, it deals with the Textile Policy of the Government. It says, "The textile sector plays an important role in the Indian economy." A new Textile Policy has been prepared. The Technology Upgradation Fund also has been created for modernising the textile mills for facing global competition. In this connection, I would like to say that two mills in Pondicherry, from where I come, have been closed. Because of this closure, workers are suffering a lot. I have now come to know that the land belonging to the textile mills has been sold out. I am afraid, the money that is accrued out of it would be diverted to some other purpose.

Here, I request the hon. Minister to see to it that the money that has been accrued out of the sale of land, is utilised for upgrading the mills In Pondicherry and also for the welfare of workers over there..

The next thing I would like to comment on is with respect to para-46 of the President's Address, wherein something is said about Fast Track Courts. Fast Track Courts are taking cases of Sessions Court pending for 2 years or more of undertrials in jails. As far as the Fast Track Courts are concerned, this is an excellent step taken by this Government. By the establishment of the Fast Track Courts, cases pending in Sessions Court for more than two years - where disposal of the cases could not take place 4

can be taken up for consideration by these Fast Track Courts. At present, there are about two lakh undertrial incarcerates, and the Government has to spend about Rs.400 crores for these people. It will come to about Rs.55 per day for each person.

In order to dispose of long pending cases and release of the under-trials, the Fast Track Courts have been formulated. The Government intends to establish 1,734 additional Fast Track Courts. But, so far, only 542 courts have been established. Each court has to clear 25 cases per month. Between 1" April, 2001 and 31[81] October, 2001, they should have cleared 94,850 trial cases. But, they could clear only 15,078 cases. It is not up to the expectation. So, it is expected that the Government would take steps with regard to Fast Track Courts. It is also expected that all the States, the Centre, the Supreme Court and all High Courts would monitor the disposal of cases by the Fast Track Courts. So, we have to commend the Law Minister for having introduced Fast Track Courts in India. I would like to submit one more thing. The proposal to have a Bench of the Supreme Court in Chennai has been dropped. I would submit with great respect that the people of the South are in need of a Supreme Court Bench in Tamil Nadu. The other places like Kolkata and Mumbai should also have a Bench of the Supreme Court. Sir, I would like to say that the full bench of the apex court met in December, 1999 and by a unanimous decision opined that having a Bench of apex court in places other than Delhi would destabilise or affect the integrity. The Parliamentary Committee which went into the issue observed that it was not at all convinced with the opinion of the Supreme Court. In July 2000, it urged the Government to take up the matter with the Chief Justice of India to reconsider setting up of regional Benches of the Supreme Court. Thereafter, the Centre asked the Chief Justice of India to look into the matter. In response to this the full court again met in April last and reiterated its earlier decision that setting up of regional Benches will affect the courts unitary character. When this was communicated to the Committee, it rejected the Supreme Court's stand and wanted that the Government should remove all the hurdles even by amending article 113 of the Constitution. I would submit before this august House that there should be a Bench of the Supreme Court In Chennai, Kolkata and such other places. I feel that every citizen of India should have justice. It is very difficult to travel all the way from there to Delhi. The litigants have to spend a lot of money for this purpose. I request the Government to pay attention to this matter and take all steps, including amending article 130 of the Constitution in order to set up a Bench of the apex court in Chennai.

Finally, I would like to say something with regard to Sethu Samundaram Scheme. This project was conceived 140 years ago, even before the Suez Canal was mooted. The Britishers who ruled India constituted eight Committees for the Sethu Samundaram Project. After Independence also, the Ramaswami Committee, the Nagendra Committee, the Technical Committee of India, the Laxmi Narayan Committee and the Parliamentary Transport Committee were appointed. Finally, the Port Trust of Cochin has been asked to take up this scheme and implement it. I think the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka when they met a last time wanted a bridge between India and Sri Lanka to be constructed. They wanted to name it as Hanuman Bridge. Although if such a bridge is constructed it would be like the Berlin Wall between the two countries. It is very difficult to construct the Sethu Samundaram as it is. We have no objection to naming it by any name. It would not be good if the idea of having a bridge between India and Sri Lanka is dropped. I feel that this project should be implemented as quickly as possible. With these words, I once again thank you for having given me this opportunity.

श्री राम नाथ कोविन्द (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर हमारे वरिष्ठ सहयोगी डा. महेश चन्द्र शर्मा जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो-जो बातें कही हैं वह सरकार का एक नीतिगत वक्तव्य है। उन्होंने अपने पूरे वक्तव्य में 76 पैराग्राफ्स के माध्यम से देश को सम्बोधित किया है। लेकिन मैं कुछ प्रमुख बातों का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में चुनाव संबंधी सुधारों की बात कही है। हम लोग जानते हैं कि राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में दिनों-दिन गिरावट आती जा रही है। यह गिरावट हमें प्रत्येक चुनाव में देखने को मिल रही है, चाहे वह विधान सभा का चुनाव हो, चाहे वह लोक सभा का चुनाव हो। पिछले कुछ चुनाव, जो राज्य सभा से संबंधित थे अथवा लेजिस्लेटिव काउन्सिल से संबंधित थे, उनमें हम सब लोगों ने देखा है कि राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में जो मतदाता होते हैं, विशेषकर विधायकगण, उनके नैतिक मूल्यों में विशेष ह्रास हुआ है। चाहे वह किसी भी राजनैतिक दल के हो, वह भारतीय जनता पार्टी के हों, कांग्रेस पार्टी के हों अथवा अन्य दलों के हों। इसका परिणाम सबको भुगतना पड़ता है। इसीलिए सरकार के लिए यह बहुत जरूरी हो गया था कि इस संबंध में कुछ सुधार किये जायें। मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि इस संबंध में हमारी सरकार ने जो निर्णय लिया है, चुनाव संबंधी सुधार तो उसका एक पहलू है। सरकार चाहती है कि राज्य सभा के सदस्यों के चुनाव के लिए खुले रूप में मत पड़ने चाहिए। इसके साथ ही साथ एक और चुनाव सुधार की बात की गई है। अभी तक राज्य सभा के सदस्यों के लिए एक प्रावधान यह था कि वह जिस प्रदेश से चुनकर आने वाले हैं, उसी प्रदेश के वह निवासी होने चाहिए। लेकिन इसका किसी न किसी रूप में तोड-मरोड़कर पालन किया जा रहा था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसमें ईमानदारी नहीं थी। इसीलिए हमारी सरकार इस संबंध में प्रयास कर रही है और वह इसके संबंध में एक विधेयक भी लाने वाली है जिसका उल्लेख राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है कि इसकी अनिवार्यता को समाप्त कर दिया जाये।

4.00 P.M.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, फास्ट ट्रैक कोर्ट की बात भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कही हैं। हम लोग जानते हैं कि कुछ मामले फौजदारी से संबंधित होते हैं, कुछ मामले सिविल कोर्ट से संबंधित होते हैं अथवा कुछ मामले आर्बीट्रेशन से संबंधित होते हैं, उनके लिए लोक अदालतो का गठन करने का निर्णय लिया गया है। लोक अदालतें देश में अच्छा काम कर रही हैं, लेकिन उनकी भी एक सीमा होती है। दो पक्ष वहां पर जाते हैं। यदि उनका समझौता हो जाता है तो अच्छी बात है नहीं तो जिस न्यायालय से लोक अदालत में वे केसेज आते हैं, वहीं पर वापस भेज दिए जाते हैं अथवा दोनों पक्षों को यह कह दिया जाता है कि आप किसी अन्य अदालत में चले जाइये। इस संबंध में हमारी सरकार परमानेंट लोक अदालतें बनाकर सुधार लाना चाहती है। जो लोक अदालतें हैं, उनको और ज्यादा अधिकार दिए जाने चाहिए। जो भी सिविल या क्रिमिनल मकुदमें कोर्ट में जाते हैं उनका प्रिलिमिनरी एक्जामिनेशन हो सके उसके लिए व्यवस्था की जा रही है कि यह कार्य परमानेंट अदालतों में किया जाए। यदि समझौते के माध्यम से निपटारा हो सके तो बहुत अच्छा है, अन्यथा वह फिर से रेगुलर कोर्ट में भेज दिए जायें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, पंचायती राज संस्थाओं को सशक्त करके लोकतांत्रिक विकेन्द्रीकरण करने का एक दशक पूरा हो चुका है। हम सब लोग जानते हैं कि पंचायती राज संस्थाओं के संबंध में 73वां और 74वां संविधान संशोधन विधेयक ससंद ने पारित किया था। इस महत्वपूर्ण और ऐतिहासिक कदम के माध्यम से आज यह बात सामने आई है कि महिलाओं का और अनुसूचित वर्गो के लोगों का उसमें प्रतिनिधित्व बढ़ा है, लेकिन इस क्रांतिकारी पहल की यह भावना थी कि ग्रामीण स्तर पर लोगों के मुकदमों का शीघ्र निपटारा हो, उनकी फाइनेंशियल वायबिलिटी हो और उसका एक आधारभूत ढांचा खड़ा हो। उनको आगे न जाना पड़े, रैग्यूलर काट्र्स में न जाना पड़े। इस संबंध में जो वित्तीय शक्तियों का हस्तांतरण था, उसके संबंध में भी प्रावधान तो है लेकिन सही मायने में उसको जो लाभ मिलना था, वह नहीं मिल पा रहा है। इसलिए हमारी सरकार इस संबंध में भी प्रयास कर रही है कि आगामी कुछ वर्षो में जो हमारे पंचायती राज संस्थाओं से जुडे हुए निर्वाचित पदाधिकारी हैं, उन सबको विधिवत प्रशिक्षण दिया जाए। यह बहुत सराहनीय कदम है। मैं इसके लिए सरकार को बधाई देता हूं । एक बात का मैं और जिक्र करना चाहूंगा कि आज हमारे देश का संविधान लागू हुए लगभग 53 वर्ष पूरे हो गये हैं। डायरैक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स ऑफ स्टेट पॉलिसी में हमने एक बात का उल्लेख किया है कि सभी बच्चों को ऐलीमेंटरी शिक्षा मुफ्त और अनिवार्य रूप से मिले लेकिन आज तक हम वह नहीं दे पाए हैं। हमारी सरकार ने 93वें संविधान संशोधन के माध्यम से एक ऐतिहासिक कदम उठाया है जिसके तहत 6 वर्ष से 14 वर्ष की आयु वर्ग के सभी बच्चों को निशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा उपलब्ध कराने का प्रावधान किया गया है। शिक्षा यद्यपि हर बच्चे का जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है लेकिन अच्छी शिक्षा मिले, यह भी बहुत जरूरी है। इसीलिए हमारी सरकार ने इस वर्ष को, 2002 को "उत्कृष्ट शिक्षा वर्ष" के रूप में मनाने का निर्णय लिया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे कुछ वरिष्ठ मित्रगण जो उस तरफ बैठे हुए हैं, उन्होंने सावधान करते हुए इस बात का भी उल्लेख किया है कि इस पूरे अभिभाषण में समाज के कमजोर वर्गो –विशेषकर अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित जनजातियों और महिलाओं के कल्याण के संबंण में कुछ भी उल्लेख नहीं है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के पैरा 52 में, पैरा 54 में, 55 में और पैरा 56 में केवल इन्हीं वर्गो के बारे में जिक्र किया गया है। हम सब जानते हैं कि आवासीय व्यवस्था की आज सबसे अधिक कमी अगर किसी को है तो वह समाज के कमजोर वर्गो को हैं और इसलिए हमारी सरकार ने अभी पिछले वर्ष से एक वृहद् और ऐतिहासिक योजना लागू की है जिसको नाम दिया है – बाल्मीकि

अम्बेडकर आवास योजना । इसके तहत हम प्रत्येक वर्ष लगभग दो लाख घर उनको उपलब्ध कराएंगे और मुझे लगता है कि इस योजना के अंतर्गत इस वर्ग के लोगों को, जो सबसे कमजोर वर्ग है, उनको जरूर लाभ मिलेगा। इसके अतिरिक्त कृषि कर्मकारों के संबंध में जो सामाजिक सुरक्षा की सुविधाएं मुहैया कराने की बात है, उसके लिए हमने एक योजना तैयार की है – कृषि श्रमिक सामाजिक सुरक्षा योजना। इस संबंध में जीवन बीमा निगम को हमने जिम्मेदारी दी है और इस योजना को लागू करने के लिए देश के पचास जिलों को हमने चुना है जिसके लिए हमने एक लक्ष्य रखा है और आगामी तीन वर्षो में एक मिलियन कृषि कामगारों को इस योजना में शामिल किये जाने का विचार है। महोदय, कृषि कामगार अधिकाशं रूप से समाज के कमजोर वर्ग के होते हैं इसलिए इसका लाभ अनुसूचित वर्ग के लोगों को ही मिलेगा। इसके अतिरिक्त अभी सामाजिक न्याय की बात हो रही थी। उसके तहत अनुसूचित जातियों, पिछड़े वर्गो, अल्पसंख्यकों के कल्याण की जो योजनाएं हैं, उनमें इस सरकार ने गति लाने का काम किया है। इसके तहत जो हमारे सफाई कर्मचारी है, उनके आश्रित हैं, उन सफाई कर्मचारियों के पुनर्वास के लिए राष्ट्रीय स्कीम शुरू की गयी है। कई राज्यों में यह लागू भी हो गई है जिसमें इसको "सैनिटरी माटर्स" नाम दिया गया है। हमारा ट्राइबल अफेयर्स का एक मंत्रालय है जिसने देश के लगभग एक लाख चौदह हजार जनजातीय ग्रामीणों को शामिल किया है जिसके तहत जो खाद्यान्न भंडार स्कीम का है, उसमें विस्तार होगा और उसका लाभ इन सबको मिलेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक-दो बिंदुओं पर बात करके अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। मैं पूरे सदन का ध्यान 1997 की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा। अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के कर्मचारियों को संविधान में जो आरक्षण प्राप्त है, उसके तहत 1997 में जब तथाकथित सामाजिक न्याय की सरकार थी, उस सरकार को कांग्रेस पार्टी समर्थन कर रही थी। भारत सरकार का एक विभाग है DOPT डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ पर्सनेल एंड ट्रेनिंग। उस दौरान इस विभाग ने 5 शासनादेश जारी किए और उन शासनदेशों का जो आधार था, वह कहीं न कहीं सुप्रीम कोर्ट की जजमेंट्स पर आधारित था लेकिन उनका जो आधार लिया गया, वह सलेक्टेड ऑब्जर्वेशन्स के आधार पर था और उसके तहत वे 5 शासनादेश जारी हुए। उनके माध्यम से अनुसूचित वर्ग के कर्मचारियों को जो आरक्षण का लाभ मिलने वाला था, वह बहुत बड़ी सीमा तक दुष्प्रभावित हुआ। सारे कर्मचारी। उस समय हम लोग जो अनुसूचित वर्ग के सांसद थे, जन-प्रतिनिधि थे, हमने भी तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री से बात की लेकिन उसका कोई सुपरिणाम नहीं निकला। उसके पश्चात जब 1998 में हमारी सरकार आई, उसमें भी सब लोग जानते हैं कि हमारी स्थिति लोक सभा में यह थी कि हम कोई संविधान संशोधन नहीं ला सकते थे लेकिन बाद में, 1999 में हमारी सरकार ने पहल की और जो 5 शासनादेश जारी हुए थे, उनमें जो अंतिम शासनादेश था, पिछले दिसम्बर के सत्र में हम वह लाए। यद्यपि उसमें सभी पार्टियों के सांसदों का हमें सहयोग मिला, उसके लिए मैं सबका आभार व्यक्त करता हूं लेकिन उसकी जो पहल की, वह हमारी सरकार ने की थी और इससे अनुसूचित वर्ग के कर्मचारियों को बहुत बड़ी राहत मिली। इस समय मैं यह भी उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा कि ये सारे शासनादेश सुप्रीम कोर्ट के निर्णयों पर, सलेक्टेड ऑब्जर्वेशन्स पर आधारित थे। हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी और अन्य दल अपने को दलितों का मसीहा कहते हैं लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि उस समय यदि कुछ समाधान ढूंढा गया होता तो कुछ समाधान मिल जाता लेकिन इस संबंध में कोई कांरगर उपाय नहीं हुआ।

महोदय, अभी दवे साहब यहां से चले गए हैं, जो नागपर में बाबा साहेब की दीक्षा भूमि से सीधे-सीधे जुड़े हुए हैं। मैं यह उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार ने दीक्षा भूमि के लिए

10 करोड़ रूपया दिया, चैत्य भूमि जो मुम्बई में है, उसके रख-रखाव के लिए आर्थिक मदद की और सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हमारी एक योजना है जो आगामी एक-दो महीनों में शायद सबके सामने आ जाएगी, जिसके लिए हमारी सरकार ने निर्णय किया है। नई दिल्ली में कुछ भूमि को हमने अधिगृहीत किया है जहां पर बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर की स्मृति में, उनके नाम पर एक लाइब्रेरी और म्यूजियम का निर्माण किया जाएगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने हम सबके लिए भी एक सुविचारित बात कही और वह सबसे आखिरी पैरा 75 में कही कि इस समय लोक सभा में 36 और राज्य सभा में 40 विधेयक लम्बित हैं। चार अध्यादेशों के स्थान पर विधेयक लाए जाने हैं, यह कहते हुए राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हम सब लोग, जन प्रतिनिधि , जनता की आशाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। इसलिए हम सबका दायित्व भी है कि ससंद के अमूल्य समय का सदुपयोग करते हुए सभी नियत कार्यो को संपन्न करने में लगें। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अभी पिल्लाई साहब, ने उल्लेख किया था, राष्ट्रपति जी का 26 जनवरी, 2002 को राष्ट्र के नाम जो संदेश प्रसारित हुआ था उसमें कुछ बातों का उल्लेख किया था। महिलाओं के बारे में, अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, अल्पसंख्यकों इन सबका हवाला देते हुए पिल्लई साहब ने अपनी राय जाहिर की थी। यह उनकी राय है, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि यह सरकार का परइन्डक्टमेंट है। मैं पिल्लई साहब की राय से सहमत नहीं हूं । मुझे लगता है कि जो कुछ राष्ट्रपति ने अपने राष्ट्र प्रसारण में कहा वह समाज में व्याप्त उनका ऑब्जर्वेशन This could, at least, be said to be his observation on the prevailing system in the society. जो वर्तमान में एक सामाजिक व्यवस्था है उसका राष्ट्रपति जी ने उल्लेख किया था। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव आया है उसका समर्थन करते हुए अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Dr. V. Maitreyan. This is Dr. Maitreyan's maiden speech in the House.

डा. वी. मैत्रेयन (तमिलनाडु) **:** माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ऑल इंडिया अन्ना द्रमुक मुनेत्र कषधम की तरफ से राज्य सभा का सदस्य चुनकर आने के बाद मेरा यह पहला भाषण है। मुझे यह मौका देने के लिए मैं आपके प्रति अपना आभार व्यक्त करना चाहता हूं। वैसे प्रोफेशन स मैं डा. हूं, एक कैंसर स्पेशलिस्ट हूं। इस महत्वपूर्ण, सभा मै देश के कोने कोने से जाने माने वरिष्टः नेता उप्स्थित हे इलोनोमिस्ट इंटेलेक्यूएल, साइंटिस्ट, एजुकेशनिस्ट, मैम्बर्स ऑफ दि जस्टिस एंड दी बार। ऐसी महत्वपूर्ण सभा में मेरे जैसे एक सामान्य व्यक्ति को भी आने का मौका मिला है और इसके लिए एक व्यक्ति, जो इसका कारण कहा जा सकता है, जो एकमात्र व्यक्ति इसका कारण है वह हमारी पार्टी की महासचिव, तमिलनाडु की मुख्यमंत्री लोकनायिका डा. पुरट्चि तलैवि जयललिता जी हैं। इस समय उनके संघर्षपूर्ण जीवन के बारे में थोड़ा-बहुत उल्लेख करना मैं अपना कर्त्तव्य मानता हूं । पिछले पांच साल में मैडम के ऊपर गलत इल्जाम लगाए गए थे। प्रैस मीडिया और इलैक्ट्रोनिक मीडिया में उनके विरूद्ध दुष्प्रचार हुआ, अपमान हुआ, रोजाना कभी बेड रूम दिखाए जाते थे तो कमी बाथ रूम दिखाए जात थे, कभी चप्प्ल तो कभी साड़ी । उनके विरूद्ध जो केस लगाए गए उसके लिए उस समय की सरकार ने एक स्पेशल कोर्ट बनाया था। उस स्पेशल कोर्ट के द्वारा दिलाए गए जजमेंट के कारण मैडम के राजनीतिक जीवन पर रोक लगाने का प्रयत्न हुआ। उसके बाद भी 2001में कई में विधानसभा के चुनावों की जो घोषणा हुई तक मैडम के नोमिनेशन पेपर्स का तिरस्कार किया गया। उसके बावजूद भी तमिलनाडू के लोगों ने अम्मा जी में इतना विश्वास प्रकट किया कि तमिलनाडु विधानसभा की 234 सीटों में से 196 सीटें,

तीन चौथाई सीटें जीत कर हम आए और बाद में अम्मा जी मुख्य मंत्री बनी। ...(**व्यवधान**)...Please do not interrupt me. I have my own rights as anybody else here has. *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I think you will respect his maiden speech. Please do not interrupt him.

डा. वी. मैत्रेयन : फिर कोर्ट के द्वारा उनको मुख्य मंत्री पद से हटाया गया। बाद में कोर्ट से जीत कर लोगों के पास गई और वापिस जीत कर के आज तमिलनाडु की मुख्य मंत्री हैं। कहा जाता है कि ईश्वर के कई रूप होते हैं, कई रंग होते हैं, कुछ लोग गणेश जी के रूप में देखते हैं, कुछ लोग रामचन्द्र जी के रूप में देखते हैं, कुछ लोग शिवाजी के रूप में देखते हैं। मगर ईश्वर को कभी किसी ने देखा नहीं है। कहा जाता है ईश्वर मानवरूपेण होते हैं। ऐसे हमारी पार्टी की तरफ से मेरे जैसे लाखों वर्कर्ज के लिए हमारी अम्मा ईश्वर समान है। वैसी पूजनीय देवी स्वरूप डा. पुरट्चि तलैवि अम्मा की दिशा की ओर प्रणाम करना मैं अपना कर्त्तव्य मानता हूं। इस सभा में ए.आई.ए.डी.एम.के. की तरफ से प्रतिनिधित्व करने में मुझे गर्व हैं। चार साल पहले 1998 में हमारी पार्टी की सिल्वर जुबली कान्फ्रेंस हुई। तब आज के केन्द्र सरकार के माननीय गृह मंत्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी जी वहां विशेष मेहमान बन कर आए थे। उस कान्फ्रेंस को संबोधित करते हुए आडवाणी जी ने द्रविड़ मूवमेंट के इवोल्यूशन के बारे में उल्लेख किया, डी.के. कैसे फार्म हुआ, डी.के. से डी.एम.के. का कैसे जन्म हुआ और डी.एम.के. से अन्ना डी.एम.के. कैसे अलग हुआ। यह सब बताते हुए आडवाणी जी ने कहा"The late MGR, by adding two letters, A and I, to the ADMK, gave it a national perspective." ए.आई. के दो शब्द जोड़ कर एम.जी.आर. ने ए.आई.डी.एम.के. को एक राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण दिया। हम रीजनल पार्टी जरूर हैं मगर रीजनल पार्टी विद नेशनल परसपेक्टिव। इसलिए जब कभी भी राष्ट्र हित की बात होती हैं तो हम सब का समर्थन करेंगे। इसलिए हमारी मैडम ने इस बात को बहुत स्पष्ट बताया है कि we are an indepedent Party; we are not part of any alliance, जो भी मुद्दे देश के हित में होते हैं उन पर हम केन्द्र सरकार का समर्थन जरूर करेंगे और जो मुद्दे तमिलनाडु के हित के विरोध में होते हैं उनका हम कड़ा विरोध करेंगे। राष्ट्रहित की बात का जब हम समर्थन करेंगे तो दिल खोल कर समर्थन करेंगे, खुले आम समर्थन करेंगे मगर जब विरोध करेंगे तो पूरी ताकत लगा कर हम विरोध करेंगे। यही हमारा दृष्टिकोण है। With that as my preamble, I would like to make a few comments. This being my maiden speech, it will be a very, very short one. I will not dwell into the statistics and the various minute details. I think, on subsequent days, they will be definitely discussed and my colleague- Members from my Party will be talking on those lines. I will put forward some of the viewpoints which we feel should be presented in this House on some important issues raised in the President's Address. It was very appropriate for the President to have highlighted the Government's concern on the growing menace of terrorism that is threatening to damage the unity and the integrity of this great country. Terrorism, in the past 20 years, has taken different forms. Our neighbouring country, Pakistan, has been relentlessly waging a proxy war against us. It has been building up very consistently a hate-India campaign, indulging in cross-border terrorism. But to the external world, they give a very sweet

picture of dialogue. I think, they have been exposed now, after the attack on the Indian Parliament, on I3m December, 2001 by the terrorist and subversive elements. It was an assault on our sovereignty and nationhood. I, on behalf ■ of the AIADMK Party, strongly condemn that senseless act of violence; and on behalf of the people of Tamil Nadu, I convey my heartfelt sympathies to the families of those security personnel, who have laid down their lives to defend the citadel of democracy. The attack on i3lh December, 2001 was not an isolated incident. Prior to that, the nm September, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in U.S.A., the attack on Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, the attack on the American Centre" in Kolkata, the Godhra episode, they all form part of a chain.

मुझे प्रधान मंत्री अटल जी की एक कविता याद आती है। अमर आग पुस्तक में उन्होंने लिखा है,

"देश की राजधानी में, ससंद के सामने धूल कब तक उड़ेगी"।

प्रधान मंत्री जी से मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि देश की राजधानी में ही नहीं, संसद के सामने ही नहीं, देश के कोने-कोने में आतंवाद की धूल कब तक उड़ेगी।

Enough is enough. It is the duty of the Government to protect every inch of our soil, at any cost, whatever it may be, and the Government should take adequate steps and measures to protect the life of every citizen of this country, regardless of caste, creed and colour. It should be very loud and clear to everyone that स्वतंत्र भारत का भस्तक कभी नहीं झुकेगा, कभी नहीं झुकेगा। assure the hon. Prime Minister that the AIADMK Party will extend its full support to the Government of India, in its fight against terrorism, especially, in its endeavour to enact a national legislation for the prevention of terrorism. We support POTO in toto.

The President's address mentions about our relations with Sri Lanka, and they mentioned about the Government's assurance regarding supporting the measures to further the peace process. Everybody is for the peace process. We have been hearing and reading a lot of reports in the media, in the past couple of months that the LTTE has sought the assistance of the Government of India, in their negotiations with the Sri Lankan Government. The LTTE has also apparently requested the Central Government that their idealogue, Shri Balasingham and his wife should be based in Chennai, apparently on medical grounds, to facilitate these talks. I am aware that some of the alliance partners of the ruling NDA are closely supporting the LP"E. However, on behalf of the AIADMK Party, I register my strong opposition to any such move to give Shri Balasingham and his wife base in Tamil Nadu. The Government of India should not fall a prey to the designs of the banned terrorist organisation. Tamil Nadu cannot afford to

witness again the re-enactment of violent, nefarious and anti-national activities of the LTTE and its aftermath in the subsequent year. We had been a witness to all this during the past decade.

Tamil Nadu has been facing a serious financial crisis. In fact, the State Government has placed a White Paper in this regard in the State /' bly in the last Budget Session. At this crucial period, the decision of the Central Government to reduce the share of Central taxes by Rs. 512 crores in the current year is a rude shock for us. The recession in the economy, in the nation as a whole, has further compounded the problem, and let me remind you that this is not a problem that is affecting Tamil Nadu alone. Very many States also face a similar problem. On behalf of the State, I strongly urge the Central Government to look into this matter and do something positive. Also, Tamil Nadu has been denied its fair share in the devolution of the Central funds by the successive Finance Commissions. We should not be penalised for being progressive on the socio-economic front. The Twelfth Finance Commission, at least, should approach with a more rational and equitable mechanism for fund devolution. The President, in his 25[h] February Address, took pride in mentioning that there had been, relatively, fewer incidents of communal violence in 2001. Two days later, the country witnessed the inhuman and barbaric act perpetrated against the majority community at Godhra in which 58 women and children were burnt alive in the Sabarmati Express train. Expectedly, this was followed by communal clashes in which hundreds were killed; property worth crores of rupees was damaged; and the image of the Government and the image of the country was tarnished considerably.

The Godhra killings and the subsequent communal clashes must provoke us all to think about the Ayodhya issue. The President's Address has mentioned about the Ayodhya issue. Yes, that has become more important after the verdict of the Supreme Court delivered yesterday, and also because of the deadline of March 15. The Supreme Court's Judgment, delivered yesterday, has been welcomed by the AIADMK. In an atmosphere where there is a lot of tension and commotion, in order to allow time to . cool the" tension, it is very necessary for the people to sit and think calmly. Hence, we support the Supreme Court Judgment. AIADMK is of the firm opinion that any solution to the Ayodhya dispute can only come through one of the two ways possible in any functioning democracy-a mutual dialogue or a judicial verdict. The President's Address obviously mentions the same.

However, I would like to draw the attention of this august House to the fact that for over 50 years, cases filed before the Allahabad High Court

are still pending before the Special Bench of the Allahabad High Court, which has now been designated to go into all the cases of Ram Janmabhoomi.

Successive Central Governments, over the last 50 years, have failed not only to facilitate a purposeful and meaningful dialogue between the Hindus and the Muslims, but aiso to apply their minds and energies, objectively, to resolving these issues.

We -cannot deny that, since both the Judiciary, as an important institution of democracy, and the process of dialogue, as an important instrument of democratic negotiations, have, so far, not been able to give any solution to the issue, people are compelled to take recourse to mass movement. I hold the successive Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, responsible for allowing this problem to drift. The BJP Government has been in power in UP. I feel that, prior to the demolition period as well as in the last five years, they also have not done their homework for resolving the issues along those lines. Unless the Government steps in to facilitate a meaningful dialogue and unless the Judiciary wakes up to the enormity of the consequences of continuing delay in the judicial process, the danger of the people losing their faith in the democratic process is very real. It is heartening to note that-better late than never--the Central Government has initiated certain steps in both the directions. The Government arranged for a mutual dialogue, but, unfortunately, it failed. The Government has also requested the Allahabad High Court also to expedite the judicial process and arrange for a daily hearing. The Court has positively responded to that. I fail to understand why during all these 40 or 50 years, the case has been in the Court, but nobody has bothered about it. Suddenly, the Government makes a request, and the next day, the Court accepts that request, for a daily hearing!

Sir, I urge upon the Government to pursue, vigorously, both the process of dialogue and expediting the judicial verdict before the next deadline of June 2.

Of course, tomorrow may or may not pass peacefully, but tomorrow is not going to be the end of the day. This process is, definitely, going to continue, leading to further tensions in the country. Probably, when we people, living far away, hear such problems drifting, it pains us. I feel, the earlier we find a solution to this important problem, the better it is for the nation.

Respected Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have touched certain issues mentioned in the President's Address. I would like to recall that our respected late Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Perarignar Anna, started his career as a Member of this august House. My leader and mentor, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma, also started her career as a Member of this august House. With all respect to both of them, I shall do my best to follow their footsteps and contribute to the businesses transacted in this House. Once again, I thank Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma for having given me this rare opportunity to be a Member of this august House. Thank you.

SHRI P.N. SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Dr. Perarignar Anna began his career as an MLA in Tamil Nadu. *{Interruptions)...* He did not start his career as a Member of this House. *(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): He is referring to the national scene, when he came to the national scene.

DR. M.N. DAS (Orissa): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for your kind permission to speak a few words on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The Address of the hon. President to the Joint Session of Parliament is like an index to the state of affairs of the republic in the perspective of the national and international developments of the current time. My esteemed friend, Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma, while moving the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, brought in the name of Arnold Toynbee. The intention was excellent. He wanted to refer to Toynbee's speech where he praised the spirit of tolerance in the Hindu culture. If I remember correctly, this is how Arnold Toynbee began his speech: "I am an Englishman. My race governed your great country for 190 years and my race oppressed as also exploited you. But you have invited me as an Englishman. Who has invited me? A Prime Minister, who is a Hindu, Jawaharlal Nehru, whom my Government threw into prison several times where he suffered untold hardship, personal agony and mental anguish. He has invited me. Why has he invited me? To give the first memorial lecture on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who is a Muslim, though India was partitioned in the name of religion a few years ago. This is the spirit of Hindustan". This is what Arnold Toynbee said. Why should we refer to Arnold Toyenbee alone? There were many philosophers, thinkers and intellectuals, like Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell and Schopenhaur, in the western countries who appreciated the spirit of liberality in the Hindu culture. Further, one of the finest compliments to the Hindu way of life came from the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jehan. Shah Jehan was old and sick. His four sons started a praticidal war. Aurangazeb was emerging victorious. The Emperor was

staying in the Agra Fort. Aurangazeb wanted to capture his father, the Emperor, and make him a prisoner. He surrounded the Agra Fort. One day, when the old and sick Emperor wanted a glass of water, the bodyguard said, "Aurangazeb has cut off the water connection from Yamuna river to the Agra Fort". What did the old emperor say? He spoke in Urdu. I remember the translation in English. He said, "Blessed are the Hindus who offer water to their dead ancestors. My son is a pious Musalman. But he denies drinking water to a sick, old father who is living." There are many compliments from many quarters about the Hindu spirit of tolerance and the Hindu way of life. Perhaps, Sharmaji is not here. But, when he brought in Arnold Toyenbee and referred to the demolition of the great Christian Cathedral at Varsa, perhaps, he.wanted to show that the Poles destroyed the Gathedral because it was built by their conquerors. Had Arnold Toyenbee been here today and delivering a lecture, would he condone the demolition of the Babri Masjid while speaking of the Hindu spirit of toleration and tolerance? Perhaps, Arnold Toyenbee would have revise his view. But anyway, that is a different matter.-I am not going into history. I am directly coming to the President's Address. In paragraphs 4, 5, 6 and 7, the hon. President has referred to the Indo-Pak dispute, proxy war, cross-border terrorism and parenthetically, international terrorism. Now what is the root cause of this Indo-Pak dispute? We have to go to the root cause and see how best we in our generation, as Parliamentarians, as citizens, can try to rectify it, if somewhere there is some mistake. The root cause is the two-nation theory versus the one-nation theory. Sir, when Mohd. Ali Jinnha dropped the thunderbolt from the blue on Indians, as a nation, by propounding the two-nation theory, what did he say? He said, "We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and what is more we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, ngfmes and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook of life and on life. By all means of international law we are a nation."

Who taught and tutored the two-nation theory which Jinnha gave? Hon. Prime Minlsterji, let me inform you, I have come across records in the British Archives which show how Churchill instigated.Jinnha, what part was played by Clement Atlee, what part was played by prominent leaders, what part was played by the British Civil Services in India to tutor Jinnha to demand greater Pakistan; there was a clique and conspiracy. What for?

Since the Prime Minister is present here, with your kind permission, Sir,, let me give one information. Ten years before Indian Independence, i.e. in 1937, when nobody would have imagined that India was going to get freedom within ten years, not even Mahatma Gandhi, the British statesmen saw that in majority of the British-administered provinces the Congress Party had formed Governments; and thereafter they calculated, their economists and their political leaders, as to what will be India's position after Independence. And what were the conclusions? I refer to G.D.H. Cole, the famous economist, who pointed out that after independence, India was going to become the geo-political centre of three continents - Asia, Africa and Australia. Why? He explained: look to one side of India, the western side, and there was a chain of small. States, namely, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, etc; look to the other side of India where there were, again, small States like Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Korea, etc.; look to the far south where there was the continent of Australia which was without population; look to the west where there was the continent of Africa, the Dark Continent; these undeveloped and weak States would look towards India for inspiration, guidance, help and support; up above India, there was the land of the Lamas, the Tibet; further up, you had China. In 1937, China was known as the 'Cursed Land of famines' and the 'Land of Opium Eaters'. So, he said India was going to become the geo-political centre of three continents and India would command the entire Indian Ocean and the trade route between the western world and the eastern world. After that thesis, there began the great conspiracy of how to balkanise India, how to break India into pieces and not to allow India to rise as a great power. What did they do? How did they work? They incited Jinnah to demand Greater Pakistan, with the whole of Punjab, the whole of Sindh, Belochistan, the Frontier Province, the whole of Bengal, including Calcutta and the whole of Assam. They incited the major States of Hyderabad, Kashmir, Bhopal, etc. to declare independence and they incited smaller States to form groups. They wanted these States to form a Union of States under, British protection. That was the design. But, somehow, that design was countered. It could not work. Jinnah had to go with a moth-eaten and truncated Pakistan, not a Greater Pakistan. The 563 princely States, except Hyderabad and Kashmir, had to join India almost overnight. Sir, I say this to counter the theory of Jinnah. What did Maulana Azad say? He was the foremost nationalist Muslim leader, a vastly learned man and a great scholar in Islamic theology. He said, "Eleven hundred years of common history has enriched India with our common achievements. Our languages, our poetry, our literature, our culture, our art, our dress, our manners and customs and the innumerable happenings in our daily life. Everything bears a stamp of our joint

endeavour". That is the Hindu-Muslim endeavour. That was what said. And, what did Mahatma Gandhi say? He said, "Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it would continue to be one nation, even if you demand partition. Islam stands for unity and brotherhood of mankind, not for distruptbing the oneness of human family. Therefore, those who want to divide India into possibly warring groups, are enemies alike, of India and of Islam". That is what Gandhiji said. His final warning was, "Partition was no solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem. On the other hand, it will draw a line of mental separation between the two communities for all time to come". Gandhiji's apprehensions have come true. There is a mental separation between the two communities. Now, what is our duty as the citizens of modem India today? We should try to break this mental separation by building bridges. Jawaharlal Nehru's theory must be put to work today with double force. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to give India a full-blooded, full-fledged and fullblown democracy. Secondly, he wanted to give India emotional integration, as a nation. We have to emotionally integrate the Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsees, the Buddhists, the Jains, the Christians and all into a nation. That is the need of the hour. Let there be no attempt to disrupt in any way the social harmony; let us not call it communal harmony. India is a society; a society having a State. The duty of all the citizens is to strengthen the social fabric, to strengthen the society. So, emotional integration is a must.

Sir, I conclude with one appeal to our Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs. Sir, in paragraphs 71 and 72, the President has been made to say, "We are recently developing our friendship with the U.K. and the U.S". I would humbly suggest; Let us not trust the U.K. and the U.S. They are the real friends of Pakistan, and artificial friends of India. They are friends of .India today due Jo political expediency. Is it not a fact that it is the British who manipulated, who engineered, who manoeuvred, to balkanlse India, to partition India? Did they not succeed in it? What role did the U.S. play after partition? Just after partition, one Englishman, Mr. Jenkins, prompted by the United States of America, met Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He was the ex-Governor of United Punjab. He asked Jinnah, 'you have created a new State of Pakistan, but can you manufacture a safety pin? Possibly, not. But you need arms and ammunition, you need cannons, you need tanks and you need so many things. Why don't you agree to become a friend of the United States of America because, after the Second World War, they have no place to keep their thousands of tanks, cannons and other weapons. So, if you just sign an agreement or a pact and give them a little

base somewhere in your country where America can establish its nuclear fortification against the Soviet Union, then you will get all the arms and ammunition free'. Now, today, Sir, let us not bow down or bend down our head; let us not bend our knees before the only super-power because they would consider Pakistan as their real friend and India as a friend in need. They would not consider India an all-weather friend but a cold-weather friend. So, let us not fall into the trap of a powerful group or fall into the net of the super power, the only super power. Thank you, Sir.

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा (बिहार) **:** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर प्रस्तुत किए गए धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के शुरू में पैराग्राफ 3 से लेकर पैराग्राफ 18 तक देश की राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा और आंतरिक सुरक्षा की समस्या का दिग्दर्शन किया गया है। इस तरह लगभग 15 पैराग्राफ राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा और आंतरिक सुरक्षा को लेकर हैं। अगर चिंता इन दोनों प्रश्नों पर जताई जाती है तो यह सर्वथा उचित है क्योंकि दोनों पर ही खतरे मंडरा रहे हैं और दोनों की ही रक्षा के लिए आज लगता है कि हम सही रास्ते की ओर, सही दिशा की ओर नहीं चल रहे हैं। राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा और आंतरिक सुरक्षा दोनों के लिए ही यह जरूरी है कि राष्ट्र के अंदर सामाजिक एकता, सांस्कृतिक एकता सुदृढ़ और मजबूत की जाए। हम आपस मे फूट के शिकार न हों, हम राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों पर एकताबद्ध हों, धर्मनिर्पेक्षता के प्रति प्रतिबद्ध हों, संविधान के प्रति हमारी प्रतिबद्धता मजबूत हो और हम अपनी जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली में एक भावना के साथ, एक स्प्रिट के साथ उसमें विश्वास करें। यह बहुत जरूरी है।

[श्री सभापति पीठासीन हुए।]

इसके कारणों की जब हम खोज करते हैं तो हम पाते हैं कि ऐसी शक्तियां हमारे देश के अदंर, हमारे बीच में काम कर रही हैं जो हमको अंदर से तोड़ रही हैं, धर्म के नाम पर, मजहब के नाम पर, सम्प्रदाय के नाम पर और अन्य नामों पर, हमें आपस मे बांट रही है और इसका खामियाजा हम भुगत रहे हैं। अभिभाषण में यह कहा गया है कि हम अपनी राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा के लिए किस तरह से सामरिक क्षेत्र में, मिसाइल के क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। लेकिन मेरी मान्यता है सभापति महोदय, मैं इसे स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि यह मिसाइलें हमारी रक्षा नहीं कर सकेंगी । हथियारों के मामले मे हम कोई भी शक्ति अर्जित कर लें, दुनिया में हम नम्बर वन हो जांए तो भी यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा नहीं कर पाएग। हाल के वर्षो में हमने देखा है कि अमेरिका से होड़ करने वाला सोवियत यूनियन, जिसका एक हिस्सा रूस आज भी हथियारों के मामले में जिसको उससे कम नहीं आंका जा सकता। वह सोवियत यूनियन नहीं कायम रह सका, टुकड़े-टुकड़े में बंट गया जबकि वह दुनिया की महाशक्ति के रूप में देखा जाता था। हम अपने देश की राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा भी हथियारों के बल पर कायम नहीं रख सकते। यह मिसाइलें हमारी रक्षा नहीं कर सकेंगी, उसका इस्तेमाल केवल युद्ध के मैंदान में होगा। लेकिन अगर हम अंदर से अपनी राष्ट्रीयता के प्रश्न पर, एक-एक कौम, विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों के लोग और जातियों के लोग, अपने को एक महसूस नहीं करते तो कोई मिसाइल हमें नहीं बचा सकती और हम अपनी राष्ट्रीयता की गांरटी नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन हम देख रहे हैं कि अभी थोड़े ही दिन पहले जिसकी चर्चा बार-बार हो रही है, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर अपनी बात सदस्य रख रहे हैं कि थोड़े ही दिन पहले हमारे ही देश का एक हिस्सा गुजरात किस प्रकार धू-धू कर जला।

आज भी, सुबह खबरें आ रही थी कि आज भी उसके किसी हिस्से में अशांति है और हिंसा है। आशंका जताई जा रही है कि कल क्या होगा। मंदिर और मस्जिद के प्रश्न पर इस तरह की वारदातों हो रही हैं और देश अंदर से टूटा-टूटा लगता है और अगर यही स्थिति कायम रही तो हम नहीं समझते हैं कि हम सही रूप में राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा की बात कर रहे हैं। जहां तक आंतरिक सुरक्षा की बात है, मेरी समझ में इसके अन्य दूसरे पहलुओं पर भी हम गंभीरता से गौर करें। अगर हम ऐसा करेंगे तो आंतरिक सुरक्षा कं प्रति हम देश की जनता को विश्वास में ले सकेंगे। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में वे सारी बातें गम्भीरता से कही गई हैं, ऐसा हमें नहीं लगता है। आंतरिक सुरक्षा भी इस बात पर निर्भर करती हैं कि हम अपनी जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को किस तरह से मजबूत बनाते हैं। हमने एक संविधान को अपनाया है, हमने जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को अपनाया है और यह जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली समाज के अंदर परम्परागत भेदभाव को समाप्त करने में असफल रही हैं। सभी लोग कानून के मामले में बराबरी को महसूस नहीं कर सके हैं। हम आर्थिक और सामाजिक समस्याओं का हल नहीं निकाल सकें हैं। इसलिए हम अपनी आंतरिक सुरक्षा को भी कायम नहीं रख सकेंगे। हम आंतरिक सुरक्षा को मजबूत करने के लिए, उस पर काबू पान के लिए विभिन्न कानून और नियम बनाने की बात कर रहे हैं। हम बाहर से प्रायोजित जो आतंकवाद चल रहा है उसकी बात कर रहे हैं, अंदर से आंतरिक सुरक्षा के लिए जो खतरा बढ़ रहा है उसकी बात करते हैं। लेकिन सामाजिक-आर्थिक समस्याओं को हल किए बिना, हमारे देश के अंदर से जो आंतरिक सुरक्षा को खतरा पैदा होता है, हम उसका भी कोई हल नहीं निकाल सकेंगे। हमें इस मामले में कमजोरी दिख रही है। इस संबंध में अभिभाषण में भी गंभीरता से बात नहीं कही गई है।

तीसरी बात हम यह सामने लाना चाहते हैं जो कि आंतरिक सुरक्षा और बाहरी सुरक्षा से किसी न किसी रूप में संबंध रखती है वह करप्शन है, भ्रष्टाचार है। माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। प्रधान मंत्री की कुर्सी सम्भालते ही उन्होंने जो नारा दिया उसका पूरे देश ने स्वागत किया। मैंने भी व्यक्तिगत रूप से उसको एप्रिसिएट किया था, वह था,No tolerance to corruption, zero tolerance to corruption बिल्कुल करप्शन को बर्दाशत नहीं किया जायेगा। इतने दिन गुजर गये हैं। शुरू में तो हर सांसद के यहां कोई न कोई पत्र आता था, विजीलेंस कमिशनर के यहां से, बड़े पैथटिक पत्र उनके होते थे क्या-क्या उपाय किये जा रहे हैं, प्रधान मंत्री जर का हवाला जीरों टोलरेंस उनके पत्रों मे होता था। अब कोई बात उसके संबंध में सुनने को नहीं आती है।

हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को खोखला करने में, अर्थ-व्यवस्था की उन्नति के लिए जो हम लक्ष्य रख रहे हैं, उन लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति में सबसे बड़ी बाधा करप्शन की है। इस अभिभाषण के किसी भी पैरा में इसका जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। चाहे हम राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा की बात कर रहे हों, आंतरिक सुरक्षा की बात कर रहे हों, अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने की बात कर रहे हों, चुनाव सुधार की बात कर रहे हो, हम किसी भी क्षेत्र की बात कर रहे हों, हमें करप्शन पर काबू पाना है। यह हमारे सामने एक बड़ी समस्या के रूप में है। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इसकी कहीं कोई चर्चा नहीं है। इसलिए इस तरफ मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं कि यदि सचमुच में हम राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा के प्रति गंभीर हैं, आंतरिक सुरक्षा के प्रति गंभीर हैं, अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाने के प्रति गंभीर हैं, सामाजिक सौहार्द और धर्मनिरपेक्षता के लिए भ यदि हम गंभीर हैं तो हमें इस भ्रष्टाचार पर काबू पाने की बात करनी होगी...।

श्री सभापति : अब पांच बज गए हैं। आप बोलने के लिए और कितना समय लेंगे?

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : सभापति जी, मैं इसे कल फिर शुरू कर लूंगा।

5.00 P.M.

श्री सभापति : ठीक है।

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक (उत्तर प्रदेश) **:** सभापति महोदय, उत्तर प्रदेश में लखनऊ में हजारों लड़के फौज की नौकरी में भर्ती होने के लिए आये थे और फौज ने वहां पर लाठी चार्ज किया, वहां पर कोई गड्ढा ऐसा था जिसमें कि अनेक नौजवानों की मौत हो गई हैं। यहां पर होम मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं। आप कृपया करके उनसे इसके बारे में बयान दिलवा दीजिए।

श्री मती सरला माहेश्वरी : सभापति महोदय, यह भयंकर अव्यवस्था का सवाल है। वहां पर किस तरह से अव्यवस्था चल रही थी, वहां पर हजारों लोग पहुंचे, उनमें से कई लोग सीवर में गिरकर मर गये हैं। वे लोग वहां पर नौकरी के लिए आये थे, वे रक्षा विभाग में नौकरी के लिए आये थे, वे देश के लिए अपनी जान देने आये थे। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सभापति : उन्होंने कह दिया है।

गृह मंत्री (**श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी**) **:** सभापति महोदय, कल रक्षा मंत्री या मैं सरकार की ओर से वक्तव्य देंगे, वैसे उससे रक्षा मंत्री जी का सीधा संबंध है।

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER

SUPREME COURTS ORDER ON AYODHYA ISSUE

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to make a statement on the Supreme Court's interim order yesterday, on the Ayodhya issue.

At the outset, I wish to categorically and unambiguously state that the Government will implement the Court's order in letter and spirit. I had said this in Lok Sabha on March 11, even before the Court had delivered its ruling. I reiterate it today.

I have said on numerous occasions, both in Parliament and outside, that the Ayodhya issue can be resolved either through a mutual agreement between the concerned parties or through a judicial verdict. The same was also restated by the Government, through the President's Address, to the two Houses of Parliament on February 25, 2002.

The Government has requested the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court to expeditiously give its verdict on the title suit in respect of the disputed site in Ayodhya. Simultaneously, in the past few weeks, I have received several organisations and individuals belonging to both Hindu and Muslim communities for a consultation on the Ayodhya issue. The Government is pleased that a dialogue process between representatives of the two communities has resumed. His Holiness Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham held discussions